Cornell University Library

THE GIFT OF

Hon. C. M. Depew

A.248243 26/X/10

9755-1

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

3 1924 092 915 200

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924092915200

Orations
Addresses and Speeches

OF

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

EDITED BY

JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN

VOLUME VIII

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

NEW YORK
PRIVATELY PRINTED
1910

Copyright, 1910,
By Chauncey M. Depew

INTRODUCTION

BY THE HONORABLE ANDREW D. WHITE

Late President of Cornell University, Minister to Germany, Minister to Russia Ambassador to Germany, etc.

I AM very glad to learn that the works of Mr. Depew are to be published in collected form. Ever since we were together in college, his speeches, whether I have heard them or read them, have been a delight to me; and not only because they have added to the gaiety of the nation but because they have given valuable information and effective discussion. His large acquaintance with men and with the affairs of the world in general and his intimate knowledge of the commercial interests of the country have made him an authority on very many of the leading subjects with which the nation has had to deal during the last fifty years; and as to the political development of the country, I have known no more compact, more clear, and more cogent statements of the real issues in several of the most important campaigns than his.

Andrew D. White

CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, N.Y.
June 27, 1910.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction by the Honorable Andrew D. White, late Ambassador to Germany	
Address at the Opening of the New Building of the New York Produce Exchange, May 6, 1884	1
Address at the Dedication of the Monument of the New York Press Club, at Cypress Hills Cemetery, June 12, 1887	9
Address at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Board of Management of the Bank Clerks' Mutual Benefit Association of the City of New York, December 3, 1878	13
Address at the Laying of the Corner-stone of the Masonic Asylum and Home at Utica, New York, May 12, 1891	20
Address at the Laying of the Corner-stone of the *World* Building, New York, October 10, 1889	27
Address before the Twenty-seventh Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, at Pittsburg, October 16, 1890	32
Address at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York, on Railroad Day, September 28, 1901	40
Speech at the Commercial Travelers' Meeting in New York, September 9, 1896	51
Speech at the Laying of the Corner-stone of Richmond Borough (Greater New York) Hall, at St. George, Staten Island, May 21, 1904	56
Speech at the Meeting of the National Association of Flour Manufacturers, at Niagara Falls, June 9, 1904	62
Speech at the Review of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard of New York, in its Armory, April 15, 1903	68
Address at the Opening of the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition, at Charleston, South Carolina, December 2, 1901	73
Address as President of the New York State Commission, at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition, Omaha, Nebraska, on New York Day, October 8, 1898	84
Address at the Concert for the Benefit of the Widows and Orphans of those who Perished in the Battleship *Maine*, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, March 4, 1898	94
Address before the Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis, Missouri, at noon, June 14, 1896	99

PAGE

Address at the Entertainment in Convention Hall, St. Louis, in Aid of the Soldiers' Home of Missouri, evening of June 15, 1896 - - - - - - 103

Speech to the Ladies in the Rotunda of the Southern Hotel, St. Louis, evening of June 15, 1896 - - 110

Address at the Electrical Exposition, Grand Central Palace, New York, May 15, 1896 - - 113

Address at the Celebration of Manhattan Day, at the World's Fair, Chicago, October 21, 1893 - - - 119

Speech at the Dedication of New York's Building, at the World's Fair, Chicago, 1892 - - - 123

Address at the Dedication and Opening of the Depew Opera House, Peekskill, New York, September 15, 1892 - 127

Paper Read at the Meeting of Original Colonial Dames, New York, February 17, 1897 - 133

Interview Concerning an Audience with Pope Leo XIII, in the Vatican, Rome, December 5, 1893 - 143

A Defence of Christianity before the Nineteenth Century Club, New York, December 23, 1885 - - 149

The Christian Faith.—Reply to John Fiske at the Nineteenth Century Club, March 3, 1886 - - 152

Address in Presenting the Loving-Cup to Admiral Dewey, Washington, January 9, 1900 - 154

Speech on the Acquisition by the City of New York of the Jumel Mansion, December 28, 1903 156

Interview on the Social Side of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, London, June 22, 1897 - 163

Impressions of London and Londoners in Coronation Year, 1902 168

Interview on General Grant, Spring of 1899 174

Interview on Arbitration as a Moral Force, dictated June 1, 1902 176

Introduction for "One Hundred Years of American Commerce," a History of American Commerce by One Hundred Americans, New York, 1895 - - 178

School of Diplomacy: How to Improve the Foreign Service, New York *Tribune,* July 9, 1905 - - - 186

Speech on Agriculture at Hornellsville, New York, September 24, 1904 - - - - - - - 195

Speech at the Annual Dinner of the Transportation Club, New York, January 22, 1907 - - 204

Speech at the Dinner given to Mr. Frederick C. Wagner by the Masonic Fraternity, at Delmonico's October 31, 1908 - 209

Speech at the Supper given to Mr. John Drew by the Friars, at the Hotel Astor, New York City, October 31, 1908 - - 214

PAGE

Speech at the Inland Waterways Congress, Washington, D.C., December 11, 1908 - - - - - - - 220

Lincoln Reminiscences, Written for *Leslie's Weekly* of February 4, 1909 - - - - - - 225

Speech at the Dinner of the National Railway Mail Service, Hotel Manhattan, New York City, October 21, 1909 233

Speech on the Resources and Prosperity of the Country under Republican Policies, in the Senate of the United States, December 20, 1909 - 241

Speech at the Dinner given by the Transportation Club of New York to Lieutenant Shackleton, March 30, 1910 256

Speech at the Banquet of the Republican Organization of Oneida County at Utica, New York, April 18, 1910 - 259

Address on Resolutions in Memory of Vice-president Garret A. Hobart, in the United States Senate, January 10, 1900 - 267

Address on Resolutions in Memory of Senator William J. Sewell, of New Jersey, in the United States Senate, December 17, 1902 272

Address on Resolutions in Memory of Senator James M'Millan of Michigan, in the United States Senate, January 30, 1903 278

Interview on Return from Buffalo, September 15, 1901, after the Assassination of President McKinley - 282

Speech at the Unveiling of the Statue of Henry B. Hyde, at the Equitable Life Building, New York, May 2, 1901 - - 287

Speech before the New York Farmers' Club, at the Hotel Brunswick, December 15, 1887. Subject: "Fruits Such as Farmers Grow." 291

Speech before the New York Farmers' Club, at the Hotel Brunswick, December 19, 1889. Subject: "Country Roads" 296

Speech before the New York Farmers' Club, at Sherry's, January 19, 1892. Subject: "Arboriculture" - 299

Argument in Behalf of New York as the Site of the Quadri-Centennial Celebration, before the United States Senate Committee, January 11, 1890 - 304

Speech at Grand Central Palace, New York, at the Benefit given by the Health Exposition to the Red Cross Society, May 14, 1898 - - 314

Speech at the Members' Reception, Young Men's Christian Association (Railroad Branch), to Mr. Warburton, October 13, 1908 - - - 318

Address at the American Commerce Banquet, in Commemoration of the Centennial of American Commercial Liberty, at Delmonico's, New York, December 19, 1895 324

Index - - - - - - - - - - 341

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
CORNELIUS VANDERBILT - - - - - - -	Frontispiece
WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT - - - - - - - - -	100
WASHINGTON IRVING - - - - - - - - - -	150
SAMUEL L. CLEMENS - - - - - - - - - -	200

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

NEW YORK PRODUCE EXCHANGE

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDING OF THE NEW YORK PRODUCE EXCHANGE, MAY 6, 1884.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: The opening of this Exchange marks an important era in our national development. The wildest dreamer of the preceding generation would not have hazarded the prediction that in thirty years the merchants of this city, engaged only in the handling of domestic food products, would have required and possessed the resources to build a palace of commerce costing three millions of dollars. The modest rented room which met all your wants in 1860, expanding into this superb structure in 1884, illustrates the agricultural and commercial progress of this country in the last quarter of a century. The startling splendor of the facts reduces to ordinary experiences the wild creations of "The Arabian Nights." This Exchange is an example of how the things most dreaded by our fathers are welcomed and utilized for the most beneficent purposes in our day. The one nightmare disturbing the dreams of the past was the dread of centralization. From some relic of those times still lingering among us we hear an occasional echo of the old universal cry. But out of the Civil War the Republic came, with more power in the General Government than the Federalists demanded, and upon the grave of State Rights has grown an intense and absorbing Nationalism. This tendency is seen in older countries in the unity of Germany and Italy, and of peoples of a common race everywhere. The same principle prevails in trade. But instead of the evils anticipated, it has made possible the wonderful results which we here in part celebrate. It has covered the land with the network of railways which carries the settler to the virgin fields and distributes, the world over, the products of his industry. It has built the steamship and the telegraph. It proves the immortality of man that he always controls the mighty forces which he conjures. He is never their victim, but always their master, and his monsters, like that of Frankenstein, are the useful

servants of his will. Within the memory of most of you it was possible for a single man to grasp all the agencies necessary for business success, and fight his way alone with limited resources. But now that steam applied to transportation by land and sea comparatively eliminates time and distance between the places of supply and demand; now that the conditions of all the markets of the world are known in every market during all the hours of 'Change; now that the merchant must know the prospects of coming crops, the supply on hand at home and abroad, the price of money in America and Europe, the fluctuating freight rates in times of railway or steamship troubles; except for exchanges like this, all business would be concentrated in the hands of a few men with enormous capital. But just here, combinations like yours avert the dangers and receive the benefits of these tremendous conditions of modern trade. Your association reaches out and gathers the information; it places in the hands of all its members alike the factors of the business problem; and then it is not so much the magnitude of the capital as the skill in solution which determines success—then every one, with an equal chance, according to his means and ability wins a living, a competence, or a fortune.

Thus commerce becomes in our civilization the strongest force in the conservation of law, order, and property. There is nothing new under the sun, and our freshly imported socialists and communists in their wild ravings present the passionate appeals of the oppressed and injured of earlier times, without knowing their history or possessing their justification. Most of the great landed estates in Europe were acquired by the ancestors of the present owners by conquests marked with all the horrors of arson, slaughter, and slavery. The natural revulsion of the Saxon farmer tilling his own acres for a Norman master whose iron collar of servitude he wore riveted about his neck, was to the destruction of everything which represented or strengthened the dominant class. But with the absolute equality of all men before the law; with the prohibition of primogeniture and entail and the tying-up of vast estates for generations; with all the avenues of honor and thrift open and unobstructed, the reasons for the revolt have passed away. Four hundred years ago one-half the population of Scotland was begging from door to door, because there was no diversity of labor and therefore no employment. The

great industrial trouble to-day in Ireland is the policy which has kept her purely agricultural and deprived her of manufactures and trade. Commerce enforces the law and the lesson that the accumulations which make possible great enterprises, prosperous manufactories, the opening and working of mines, and the cheap and rapid handling of all the products of the earth, the forge, and the loom, are necessary, if great populations are to be maintained, made happy and enriched by employment and opportunity. The rich man who has no sympathy with the poor insults his own beginnings or the hard-working father or grandfather to whom he owes his wealth. The poor man who would level all property rights stands in the way of the welfare and rise of his children. The fortunes and misfortunes of business where the State grants equal conditions to all, prove that, while no man will willingly give his work and brains that others may live at his expense, if what he honestly wins is his own then the universal incentive for fortune, for competence, for a homestead, for provision for the family and the helpless and beloved, produces the marvelous development of material resources, and the frequent and remarkable example of individual prosperity, which are the pride and wonder of our time.

Commerce demands for its operations, first of all, security. No pirates by sea or robbers by land may prey upon it. Neutral states and warring territories must respect, and insurance protect it from losses by the elements. And so we have that confidence which begets credit, the handmaid of enterprise, courage, and brains. With credit men of capacity outstrip the slow and cautious movements of capital, and in the utilization and encouragement of invention and discovery, agriculture, manufacture, and the trades of every kind receive new deevlopment and impetus. The other requisites are freedom of labor and adequate and reasonable transportation. These principles in all ages have made commercial centers the nurseries and asylums of liberty and civilization. The Phœnician traders, the forefathers of the modern merchants, built the splendid cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage, which were the home of the arts and the barriers to despotism. The supremacy of Greek letters and liberty were due to the commercial instinct of the race, while the warlike Roman, of trade, reduced the people to barbarism and poverty, till in his conquering and destroying one after another all the ancient marts

despair the barbarian sprang at the throat of his oppressor and strangled him. No picture of human misery equals that presented in the Middle Ages, where the robber barons plundered and outraged all without their castle walls. The world, sunk in misery, was sinking into savagery, but the merchants in the Hanseatic League and the cities of Holland preserved freedom, saved learning, rescued civilization, and kept religion alive. When the cities of the League, after five hundred years of successful struggle, surrendered their autonomy to Bismarck's idea and the German Empire, it was the last and most fitting concession to the triumph of law and the security of commercial rights in modern government. It was a commercial company which conquered India and added three hundred millions of subjects to the British Crown. It is commercial enterprise which supports Stanley on the Congo, and adventurous explorers all over Africa, and which will bring the Dark Continent and its people within the lines of civilization and Christianity.

Having secured all the elements necessary to its successful prosecution, trade is no longer monopolized by great companies like the East India, the South Sea, and the Hudson Bay. The individual, emancipated and free, asserts himself in business as in the State. Competition stimulates and limits his enterprises. By far the greatest and most important branch of modern commerce is feeding the toiling millions for whom our complex civilization has afforded other occupations than tilling the soil. The limitless acres on our prairies and in our valleys, brought by rail within easy reach of the seaboard, and by steamer in close connection with all the markets of Europe, furnish to us the opportunity of supplying food for the world and draining its wealth into our industries and treasuries. Have we the statesmanship, the patriotism, the business ability to profit by the situation? A few figures will illustrate by what rapid steps we have reached this power for enormous production. In 1850 there were one million five hundred thousand farms in the United States; in 1880 there were four millions. In 1850 we raised five hundred and ninety-two million bushels of corn, and in 1880 we raised one billion and eight hundred million. In 1850 we raised one hundred million bushels of wheat, and in 1880 we raised four hundred and sixty million. In 1873 the balance of trade turned in our favor by the exports of these products, and continued in in-

creasing volume year by year until at its height, in 1881, the cereals of the country had repaired all the losses of our greatest panic. American competition drove the British farmer into bankruptcy, and the Continental one to despair. Two thousand men own the soil of Great Britain, and the tenant farmer pays from five to ten dollars per acre a year rent. Onerous taxes to support standing armies and vast military establishments bear with crushing severity upon the German, French, and Russian agriculturist. One-tenth of the best labor of the land is idle in the army. The average assessment to support these great organizations is four dollars per head of the population, while in our great West the annual rent of an English farm buys a homestead in fee, taxes are nominal, and transportation the cheapest in the world. Unless England breaks up her vast landed estates into small holdings, unless the nations of the Continent disband their armies, the markets of Europe must be ours, and they can only be lost to us by our own folly. The exhaustlessly fertile land along the Nile and in the other granaries of the ancient world possess all their pristine productiveness—bad government has for ages cursed them with desolation—but with England, powerful everywhere in the East, and looking for cheap food for her operatives, that by cheaper labor she may be able to undersell with her manufactures all competitors, these oriental fields might blossom and bear as of old. We can conjure this right Spirit, and already he shows dangerous signs of life. In the time of Pliny, Egypt ruined the Italian farmer, and in the time of Pompey, Italy was given over to vast grazing farms and her agriculturists driven to cities or the legions, because Egyptian wheat could be bought in Rome for seven cents a bushel, while Italian wheat cost a dollar a bushel to raise. Two years ago the speculators of Chicago, acting upon a theory which might have been well enough if food products could have been purchased by Europe only from America, by gigantic corners and other artificial processes drove the price of wheat up to fabulous figures. The effect was magical, and roused to efforts to share in this wonderful wealth of annual harvest peoples who had slumbered for centuries. The Russian railways penetrated the rich mold along the Black Sea, and elevators were built at Odessa. English capitalists furnished seeds and implements to the patient Hindoo, and the British Government ran railroads through the valleys of India. The Greek Islands awoke to a

new life, and the banks of the Nile once more responded to intelligent culture. And now we are exporting gold instead of grain, and accumulating debts instead of dollars. In the wheat pit of Chicago in a single year was buried more of the future prosperity of the Republic than the sum of all the traffic which flows through the great city would mount up to in a decade.

It is in this field of activity that the New York Produce Exchange can fulfill a most patriotic and powerful mission. It handles seventy-five per cent. of the exports from the country, and its legitimate transactions reach the enormous money value of ten millions of dollars a day. It is organized to deal in the food products of the Republic, not to gamble with them. In noble and memorable words its constitution recites that "the purposes of our institution shall be to inculcate just and equitable principles in trade." Under this banner the interchanging surplus of harvest and manufactures of temperate and tropical climes and diverse industries will bless and enrich the land. You are a great commercial congress, and can represent the opinions and interests of the lonely homesteader following the furrow across the prairies of Dakota, the giant farmer plowing by steam-power the fields of Minnesota, the toiling millions dependent upon active capital and prosperous trade in the great cities and manufacturing towns. To one and all of them the honest handling of the harvest and the control of the markets of Europe is a question of life or death. Greed, which penal laws cannot reach or patriotism curb, can be defeated by education and intelligence. Let some of the millions now squandered by the Government in the vain effort to turn turtle ponds into inland seas, and trout streams into navigable rivers, to perpetuate some local statesman, be wisely spent in organizing a bureau of information so vast and yet so accurate that misrepresentations as to the daily prospects of the crops at home and abroad, as to the supply on hand in domestic and foreign markets, as to the prices in the world's marts, and the conditions of transportation, will be impossible, and make all their factors at all times accessible to every citizen. Then audacity cannot play upon credulity, and fiction upon ignorance, and a ring of speculators regulate at will the ebb and flow of our national life. Let the morning and evening trains, as they rush across the farms and along the highways, carry the signals of the Weather Bureau, so that the advantages of the property may be utilized by every

husbandman. Concentrate upon the national capital your wisdom and experience to avert the evils of debased currency, to be followed by ruined credits. A Chinese wall of silver dollars of fluctuating and depreciated value artificially built about our business must result in untold calamities, and a constant and alarming drain of gold. The necessity of their position has intensified the natural hostility of our foreign competitors. Every art invented and perfected in centuries of fiercest rivalry among commercial peoples is used to defame our food products. Our reputation for sharpness and smartness is enormously enhanced for the purpose of supporting wholesale charges that disease or adulterations form with us common and applauded forms of fraud. The German Chancellor and the British Parliament have given their great authority to assist in these assaults upon our credit and good name. This question has become one of the gravest national and international importance. The truth is now so rapidly and universally diffused that neither the falsehoods of traders, nor the orders of autocrats, can long sustain misrepresentations if every basis for them be taken away. The New York Produce Exchange has heretofore done great service in this good work, but with the new strength and prestige which are to-day so conspicuously presented acting both as a representative and custodian of our honor and prosperity, formulating rules, conducting investigations and enforcing justice with the utmost vigor and impartiality, and instantly and fearlessly vindicating those who are unjustly attacked, and exposing those who are guilty, it must eradicate every justification for slander, establish beyond the possibility of dispute the purity of the products we export, the integrity of the men who raise or manufacture, and of the American merchants who trade in them. The statue of Thomas H. Benton, at St. Louis, with outstretched arm pointing to the West, holds a scroll bearing the legend, "Behold the East." Never since the three Wise Men followed the star to the manger of Bethlehem has there been such resurrection power in the eastward current as now. It flows with ever-increasing volume through the Golden Gates of the Pacific, gathering in strength and beneficence as it rolls across the continent. This magnificent home of commerce marks its course and growth, and this grand city, the metropolis of the continent, is its creation. The forces which have made can unmake, and the outcome is almost absolutely in

your own hands. Patriotic, cosmopolitan, hospitable, broad, healthy, and vigorous, as the merchants of New York have ever been, they will continue to be in a nobler and larger sense under this dome, and the architects of the past will be the successful builders of the future.

MONUMENT OF NEW YORK PRESS CLUB

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT OF THE NEW YORK PRESS CLUB, AT CYPRESS HILLS CEMETERY, JUNE 12, 1887.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS CLUB: The occasion which calls us together is both sad and comforting. It reminds us of the horrors of a lonely death and suggests some of its alleviations. It is eminently fit and appropriate that our ceremonies are upon the Sabbath day, when our thoughts and feelings are inspired and moved by the victory over the grave in the assuring promises of a glorious resurrection. In this month of June, with its balmy air, its wealth of leaf and flower and fruit, we forget the destruction and decay of winter and learn from Nature that ever recurring and beautiful lesson which takes from the cemetery its terrors. The memorial monuments of a people mark their civilization and humanity, and the care they give to that spot which the Germans so tenderly designate as God's Acre tells of the power and development of home and family and friendship. From primitive man to the height of Greek intellectuality, and then down through Roman barbarism and the night of the Dark Ages until we rise again to the splendid evolution of mind and heart and soul in our era, we review all the miseries, the misfortunes, and the gains of our race. One of the sure evidences of progress or decay in humanizing influences is the treatment of the unknown and the friendless living or dead. The hundred years of our existence as a nation exhibit in connection with our marvelous growth and development in commerce, manufactures, invention, and population, the relation of individuals to each other and the community which preceding ages have not shown. In the mighty movement of the tremendous forces which control our industrial life, the individual, upon whom our fathers built their government, has been lost. He has become an atom in a vast system of organized machinery. The old days of universal acquaintance and interest, when the cords of sympathy connected all the members of the community, and the friendless and suffering felt at once a neigh-

bor's helpful hand, are gone. The surging crowd rushes by the helpless stranger, too careless to stop, or too fearful of fraud or contamination to listen. Poor, alone, and sick in a great modern city crushes out hope, and despair gives way to death. A man dies calmly and courageously when he knows that he will be buried among his kindred, or that loving hands will care for his remains. Every body of workers should have a lot for their homeless dead. Around the open grave they would be so reminded of their duties to their brethren, that the old loving and helpful spirit would return, recruiting the broken ties of primitive neighborhoods, restoring the sick and hopeless to health and usefulness, or smoothing his pathway through the dark valley.

It will remain as one of the best deeds of the Press Club that it has purchased this resting-place and erected upon it this monument. It redounds to the honor of journalism that the fund largely came from the efforts of one of its working members whose talents and versatility are so widely appreciated. This cemetery is full of memorials to the departed, telling their varied stories of family bereavements; but none of them will have so wide and deep significance as this shaft. From each mournful visit, as the survivors leave, they will bear with them a broader charity for, and a healthier kinship to, each other. It is the mission of the Club to overcome the necessary resentments which arise from the controversies and antagonisms of the profession, and to promote harmony and good feeling among its members.

The reportorial corps has furnished the most powerful influence of modern thought. From it have come not only the editors, but the contributors to our literature whose names are immortal. In glorious battles for the liberty of the press, it has promoted the freedom of mankind. But in no work does the struggling beginner or the aged veteran stand more in need of the sympathy and strength of a club or society organized and equipped for mutual good. The soldier is inspired with the hope of promotion, the dream of glory, and he becomes a hero in the maddening passions of the battle. But the reporter, with no incentive but duty, shares the warrior's dangers and exposures, notes in the thickest of the fray the fortunes of the fight, and while the camp is asleep rides many miles through a hostile country to send to his paper the first account of the carnage and the victory, in a message which electrifies the nation and bears no signature. I

wished at one time to find the author of a report in one of our dailies. I discovered that he had been a gallant officer in the Civil War, and was mustered out at its close covered with honorable scars, and bearing with him a noble record. He took up once more the occupation of his early manhood, and his graphic pen made picturesque the columns of his paper. A few nights before my inquiry he was reporting a great fire; many lives were in danger; where none others dared go, he fearlessly ventured, and fell a sacrifice to his courage and humanity. Three lines of cold narration was the sum of his earthly fame. But if then he could have had before him tender care and burial at the hands of his brethren, that gallant soul would have been spared its bitterest pang, and in his memorial services the world would have learned what it had lost and sacredly treasured his story. The great liners plow the seas, their departure and arrival, their speed, their passengers, heralded around the world and enlisting the eager interest of two hemispheres. An accident to one of them is a calamity which stirs millions of people in many countries. An ocean-tramp steamer, freighted with lives as precious, goes to the bottom, and the memory of her is lost as quickly as the waters reunite over the spot where she sank. The men of brilliant success among the brain-workers are the darlings of fortune and the idols of the hour, but the great mass of those whose minds are their only capital, workshop, and tools, struggle against every element of discouragement. In peaceful valleys among the New England hills or on the Western plains are the homes in which they were reared and educated, but to which they have bid good-by forever; and, alone in the great city, the ambition for fame and wealth is satisfied by ceaseless effort to win a comfortable living. Every consideration of happiness, security, and safety should bind such men together, so that each might feel the vigor and strength of a great, prosperous, and aggressive organization. Two of the most famous journalists of their time were Greeley and Raymond. Presidents, Cabinets, and Congressmen were their creation and subject to their control. The land was filled with their controversies and their fame. And yet death came to each of them in its most terrible and tragic form. Loving friends and millions of mourning and sympathetic admirers gave them tender ceremonial and sepulture, but there was a period in both of their lives when a Press Club, and a plot and monu-

ment such as we here dedicate, could alone have rescued them from nameless graves. To some of you will come the opportunity to fill the measure of their commanding influence and power. To all of you is assigned a portion of their work and its results.

The newspaper is the most important factor in our social and public life. Through it all nations and races by their deeds and opinions daily act and react upon each other in the approach to substantial unity in the aims and liberties of all the people of the globe. The reader has no thought for or interest in the great army which makes up this library of information, discussion, and imperious direction as to the character and official acts of public officers and the duties of private citizens. The journal is to him an impersonal expression of popular feeling which sways his judgment, but he rarely recognizes the man behind it. But here all strifes are forgotten, and all enmities healed. Whether critics or criticised, governors or governed, employers or employees, we are in the presence of death, of one family and kindred, with equal aims and a common end. From this spot will flow those tender and beneficent influences by which the voices of those who have gone before come to us from the spirit land with their messages of hope and rest, of charity, loyalty, and good-fellowship. On each recurring anniversary of that social day when their children and their comrades decorate the soldiers' graves with flowers, you will hang garlands upon this shaft and strew wreaths upon the soil which covers these humble heroes who also died at the post of duty, and the world will be happier, brighter, and better for this closer communion of the strong and the weak, the successful and the unfortunate, the prosperous and the poor.

BANK CLERKS' BENEFIT ASSOCIATION

ADDRESS AT THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF THE BANK CLERKS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, DECEMBER 3, 1878.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It seems to me eminently fit and proper that this association, connected as it is with the bank system of the country, should hold its annual meeting in the declining hours of the present year. For the past twelve months the institutions to which you belong, and yourselves, have been peculiarly upon trial before the American people. It has been widely proclaimed throughout the country that the national banks were the minions of despotism, and their officers the instruments of tyranny. Orators have said before applauding audiences that the institution ought to be abolished, and the employees ought to be hung. I congratulate you that the enlightened sentiment of the American people has found that one of the wisest of our institutions is the national bank, and that universally it is managed with ability and with integrity. And from the report of the President here to-night, and the expression upon the faces of the bank officers and employees whom I see within this hall, I feel assured that they have no fears in regard to the continuance of their institutions, or the perpetuity, until its natural end, of their individual existences. You belong, gentlemen of the banking fraternity, to one of the oldest guilds into which society divides itself when once organized. From the earliest dawn of history there has been a finance system. There is no study so interesting and so improving to the individual in his social and domestic relations, to the merchant in his trade and commerce, to the statesman providing for the welfare of his country, as a sound system of finance. Job was familiar with bankers in his prosperity, and knew usurers in his adversity. The Bible mentions both in the Old Testament—bankers and lawyers —but nowhere speaks in complimentary terms of either. I have endeavored to find some reason for this. One may have been that the ancestors of our profession were not worthy of commen-

dation; but I think the better and more reasonable view to take is that eighteen hundred years of Christianity, culture, and progress have brought the world up to the proper appreciation of both bankers and lawyers. In pagan times, when there were wealth and commerce, the temples of the gods served for banks. The great shrine of Diana at Ephesus, and the more famous one of Apollo at Delphi, were the safe-deposits of the companies of antiquity, in which peasants and princes left their possessions for safe keeping, which received money and paid interest upon it, and loaned money to those who wanted it; but they proved that bankers, as such, make poor churchmen, and churchmen who are wholly such make poor bankers; for greed overcame piety, and with the loss of piety there fled reverence for the depository, and both were robbed. Gibbon says that the few hundred years of the height of Roman imperial power were the happiest of human days, and the happiest men of all that period—in that gross, materialistic view—were the Roman bankers. The power under which they prospered stretched out its arms until it embraced all known climes and all known people, and the vast tribute of the world, pouring into the Eternal City, was controlled by the bankers. They were governed by no laws of usury. Money was merchandise, and was governed by the trade value of the hour; and they accumulated fortunes, and lived in splendor and magnificence, and surrounded themselves with the sensuous enjoyment of art and sculpture, in a manner which their successors have never equaled. In all time commerce has been successful, and has prospered only in those places where sound and honest finance presided. At various times in the history of the world, its great trade centers have been Geneva, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Holland, England; but in each, whenever speculation, through prosperity, has outrun the ability to meet the promise when it became due, then, in the inevitable crash which followed, Commerce and Prosperity have both folded their wings and flown to that spot where they could find wiser and better treatment. There is nothing so inspiring, nothing which produces such high endeavor and grand results in this world, both to nations and to trades and professions, as an honorable background of glorious achievement; and it is one of the incentives that to-day make banking so honorable, and make the profession the synonym of high integrity and truthfulness, that for so many ages it has accomplished such important

results, and produced such mighty and powerful men. In this country we have had but a hundred years of national life, yet into that hundred years we have crowded such progress, such magnitude of achievement, such history and revolution, that those hundred years present a spectacle and a background equal to a thousand years of more peaceful States. And yet so recent is our ancestry that all nationalities look beyond our dawn to the lands from whence they sprang for inspiration.

The Irish go back to Ireland to hear poetry, and song, and eloquence; the English point to Magna Charta, and the common law, and Shakespeare, and Milton; the Dutch point to civil and religious liberty as their contribution; and, while we are indebted to all the countries for all they have done, it is the pride, the glory, the special boast of the bankers of New York, that they have contributed more to the finance of the Old World than they have derived from it. It is the wisdom of the banking system of New York which has made her imperial among her sister States, and made her metropolis the financial center of this continent. It was in New York and out of her experience, that the true system of modern banking was evolved; that the paper promise of the bank should be met, not in the vaults of the bank, but by public funds held by the State to redeem it, whatever became of the banks.

When Sir Robert Peel, succeeding as finance minister to the control of the destinies of England, after years of bankruptcy and disaster, and years of an irredeemable paper currency, saw the effects of this system of New York, he instantly incorporated it in the finance system of the old country, and from that day to this there have never been those old and terrible commercial revulsions in Great Britain; and from that day to this the Bank of England note has never been discredited or dishonored. And when the United States Government needed, in its trial, a system large enough and elastic enough to meet its great and expansive needs, it looked to New York and adopted as the national system the well-tried system of our own State. Prior to that, how was it? Why, in the old days of the State laws, every man, when he engaged in a transaction, whether it was great or small, took his pocketbook on the one side and his "bank-note detector" on the other; and before he concluded the transaction, he looked over the "detector" to see whether the bill he received belonged to a bank

that had burst the day before, and ere the sun went down he got rid of that bill, for fear it would be a worthless piece of paper in his pocket, because it was the bill of a bank that would burst before the morrow. But under the system of New York, adopted into our national system, no such results are any longer feared. In our ordinary relations, in our trifling domestic concerns, in our great commercial transactions, we do not care whether the national bank-note in our pocket or in our hand was issued by the bank of California or Maine; we do not care whether by an institution in the mountains of Colorado or in the northwestern wilderness; we know that Uncle Samuel holds the bond that will pay it, whatever becomes of the bank.

It was the banks of New York which subscribed for the first fifty millions of dollars that paid the arrearages to the troops, and enabled the contest to go on in the great Civil War; and from time to time, as the credit of the country went down, and as its securities depreciated, it was the banks of New York which rallied and took them and furnished the funds that kept the armies in the field and the navies upon the sea, until the unity and nationality of the Republic were secured.

In looking back over the history of the country, and recalling its earliest period, we bring forward only those names in our imagination which have been famous in the field or in the council. Instantly before our eyes pass in review the names of Washington and Wayne and Greene; instantly before our eyes pass in review the names of Jefferson and Madison and Hamilton; and there was one man in the revolutionary era, without whose genius and patriotism Washington could not have kept his armies in the field, and the Federal Congress could not have continued its existence. That man first contributed his private fortune, and then, with a skill and a resource and a genius unparalleled in the history of finance, without credit abroad, without resources at home, he devised the schemes and furnished the money that kept the Continental soldiers fed and clothed and armed, and kept the few ships upon the ocean until independence was secured, and the Republic of the United States recognized everywhere; and that man was Robert Morris, of Philadelphia—banker. And when, in our last great contest, its history comes to be written up, and its records read in the future, there will, outside of its generals and its statesmen, be one name that will shine conspicuous—the name

of that Cabinet officer who raised the enormous sums and devised the systems that did it; that kept a million of men in the field until the nationality of the country and the perpetuity of its liberty and its institutions were secured; and that man, to whom we will be forever grateful, was Salmon P. Chase.

Now then, gentlemen, you are bankers, engaged in bank business, and in a vocation which you have taken up for a life pursuit; but in this country, with its great opportunities, with its vast demands, with its imposing duties upon every citizen, no man, whatever his calling, can be a mere specialist. There is no rule in this land or this political system which makes one man make blades and another handles for jack-knives, and do nothing else and know nothing else for all their existence. I have a poor opinion of that man who carries home to his dinner-table and his fireside his books and ledgers and nothing else. I have a poor opinion of that man who takes to both places vacuity and semi-idiocy. To bank officers, probably more than to most business men, opportunities occur. Banking hours begin late and they close early; and outside of them are the opportunities for that attention to public duties, for that broad and liberal culture, for that pursuit of the specialty which accords with taste or which we have taken up, that so broadens and enlarges a man that he not only becomes greater in the vocation he has adopted, but more useful to everybody and more grateful to himself. I met last summer, in the White Mountains, a gentleman of large affairs, who, outside of business, had devoted himself to the microscope until he had mastered all organic life. I knew a man in large business affairs, who, in the hours of the morning and evening, became one of the best amateur artists of his day; and I have known others to learn languages or to have some special talent. To such men when shipwreck comes, as it may, in the overthrow of the institution in which they work, they do not sink down and groan because they cannot find just the chair that they sat on all their lives, but in the versatility of their structure they look around and find some plank that floats them safely to the shore. To-day, one of the most scientific men in England is also one of England's most successful bankers. Samuel Rogers managed his banking business to the admiration of men in his own vocation, and at the same time so cultivated his muse that he gave

delight, and still gives it to succeeding generations, and is "the banker-poet" of all time.

And, gentlemen, there is one other duty devolving upon you on account of your intelligence and position in the community, and that is to give dignity and integrity to public life. I was dining several years ago, when in active public life, with a score of the richest men in the city of New York. The conversation ran upon taxes, and upon the burdens imposed upon property; it ran upon the rascality of public life and officers, and they declared that no man could be a politician and hold office, and at the same time receive the confidence or have the respect of the business community. I found that not one of those gentlemen had ever attended a primary meeting. They never voted except on rare occasions, and not one could tell his immediate representative from his own district in the municipal or in the State Legislature; and I said to them, as I say to all such men now, in this free country, which lives only by the intelligence of its masses: "I hope you will be taxed and punished until you learn that the institutions that rest upon your shoulders must be borne by you; and public life, to be respected, must receive from you respect and support."

Now then, gentlemen, since the organization of banks in this city there have been fifty thousand men connected with them in one way and another. Through their hands have passed fifty thousand millions of dollars. They have been the custodians of the secrets of individuals, and of firms, and of corporations. Summon them here to-night. Let them stand in grand battle-array—this vast army who have served these great interests at limited compensation. Call the roll of those who have defaulted or been faithless to their trust, and they would not make the staff of a major-general. It is not for every man to become a Peabody or a Morris, but so long as out of the system such men came, so long in the system such men reside. It is not the conspicuous who alone make success in the world. The bank president, no matter how eminent he may be, would lose his eminence unless he was backed and supported and sustained by the integrity and ability of the efficient corps who surround him; and the man who diligently performs his duty, however light it may be, is fit to receive his own praise, and the promotion to follow it when, as it surely will, it comes. One of the proudest instances that I know

of, in all those that stand out among the anecdotes of history, is that of the private soldier of France, La Tour d'Auvergne. He lived to die in the ranks, and yet he won for himself a fame far beyond that of the generals under whom he marched. First in the foremost ranks, last in the retreat, he fell upon his hundredth battle-field, fighting boldly for his country; and the imperial decree was that forever upon the muster of his company his name should stand, and that every morning at roll-call it should be called, and the sergeant should step from his ranks and answer: "Dead upon the field of honor."

Now then, gentlemen, you are met here to-night for the purpose of celebrating your first decade. Ten years is not long in the history of an institution like yours; and yet it is ten years full, as I gather from the report of the President, of honorable record, and of charitable, admirable deeds. Men perform their duties, not so much by the size of the compensation, if it be adequate for their wants, as by the certainty of the place and the sureness of the compensation. These gentlemen who belong to the Association know that their banks will not fail. They know their places are secure. They feel that promotion will come as the opportunity offers and as it is well earned, and this Association seeks to take from them that great care that saps the energies of a man —the fear that in his age or infirmity, or in his death, there may be no provision. The Permanent Fund to-night stands $80,000. If these banks knew thoroughly their own interests; if these bank-directors and stockholders knew thoroughly their own best needs —they would, while reducing their capital, reserve out of the fund which they pay back to the stockholder an amount that would make, before the first of January, that Permanent Fund an even $100,000. And I trust that an enlightened spirit of wisdom and of self-interest may lead them to understand that their interests are identical with those of this excellent Association; and I trust that when next you gather, we can congratulate you upon a grand success.

UTICA MASONIC ASYLUM

ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE MASONIC ASYLUM AND HOME AT UTICA, N.Y., MAY 21, 1891.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW MASONS: Fifty years ago a Freemason, who was rich in faith but poor in purse, contributed a silver dollar as the commencement of a fund for the building of a suitable home for the craft in the State of New York, and an asylum for its indigent members and orphans. No investent ever before yielded such magnificent returns. That brother must have had abounding hope and expansive imagination, and yet the results have surpassed his wildest dreams.

This last half-century has been full of marvels beyond all other periods in the history of the world. It excels in intellectual and material progress. Inventive genius has so reduplicated the power of man and the forces of nature that the wealth of the world and the happiness and welfare of its people have been incalculably increased. Vast as are these exhibits of the development of the period, the best is the growth of this silver coin. From it has accumulated a fund from which over two millions of dollars have been expended in a hall suitable in solidity and grandeur for the craft in the Empire State, and hundreds of thousands have been added for the care of the aged and infirm and to provide the means for educating the orphans. We have celebrated the completion of that grand building in New York, which is an external sign of the power and permanence of masonry, which is not only sufficient for the demands of the craft for the present and the future, but provides an income of over fifty thousand dollars a year for the charitable purposes of the order. To-day we celebrate the beginning of the practical application of the benevolent spirit of the brethren which has been their dream in this State for a hundred years.

There is no more important study for the statesman, the philosopher, or the generous man than the bestowal of gifts for the benefit of his fellow-men. Since St. Paul announced that the three cardinal virtues were Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the

greatest of these was Charity, this sentiment has grown and expanded until now it finds expression in beneficent efforts all over Christendom, but the prodigal liberality of the United States places it in the front rank of humanitarian nations. From the enfored taxation of all, and the liberal purses of many, a golden stream constantly flows into the hospital, the asylum, the home, the school, and the work of churches and parishes. When the effort is so great and the distribution so vast, and in many cases so indiscriminate, we stand upon the danger line of pauperizing the recipients. The hospital which nurses, cures, or mends the sick and the injured, the asylum which cares for the incurable in body or mind, or provides a home in and its influences, with an education, for destitute and orphan children, one and all complete the purest and highest purposes of benevolence.

But there is a help which harms. It is always proper to question whether the independence and self-reliance of the individual are to be weakened. Vigor, success, and good citizenship exist only among those who, being capable and in health, rely not upon charity but upon themselves for their own maintenance and support and that of those who are dependent upon them. Work is health, virtue, and conscience. It keeps the muscles strong, the mind clear, and the morals pure. It is the spur which God himself applies. It is the solvent of socialism, the motor of progress, the spirit of liberty. Without it weeds grow over the farmer's fields, his fences fall, his barns and buildings decay, his largest crop is a mortgage, and its foreclosure is his ruin. Without it the muscles of the mechanic become flabby and his tools rusty and worthless. Without it the merchant fails, and the spider safely weaves his web across the door of the professional man, which neither client nor patient ever enters.

Masonry was founded by workingmen. Its whole mission and spirit is work. From the surplus of those who are able and willing to do their part for themselves and their brethren, the funds have been raised, and will continue in larger measure to be contributed, for the maintenance of those who are utterly helpless and have no relatives upon whom they can rely, and for that noblest of all efforts—the substitution, as far as human love can supply the want, of the care, the tenderness and the thoughtfulness of father and mother for the children of the craft who have lost both. In the plastic years of youth the surroundings of the

street and of the gutter, of the saloon and the slum, train helpless childhood to crime and make it a distinct danger to the perpetuity of the commonwealth. But the children rescued, placed in the asylum, surrounded with proper influences, educated by competent teachers, will go out into the world as the sons and daughters of Masonry; the daughters to become the virtuous mothers of the citizens who are to uphold our liberty, and the sons to be the citizens who are to do their part in every good work, to shed honor upon their foster-mother, the craft, and to be sources of power and influence in the Republic.

When an organization runs back beyond historic records, and relies upon tradition for the story of its origin, its career during a known period either justifies or falsifies the tradition. An ancestry of virtue and good words is a liberal education in both. The power of the accumulated wisdom of the past is a resistless impelling force upon the present. 'The architects, the draughtsmen, the decorators, the wood-carvers, the workers in precious metals, and the masons who were building the famous temple of King Solomon, came from every nation in the then known world. Their union for mutual help, protection, society, and improvement was the marvel of an age when all navies were pirates and all nations enemies.

Institutions do not survive through the ages by accident; they live only through the possession and operation of everlasting principles. Dynasties have disappeared; thrones have crumbled; whole races have been annihilated; governments have succeeded one another with a frequency beyond the power of the historian to record; civilization itself has risen to the highest excellence and then sunk in darkness and oblivion. But Masonry has continued through the centuries with the same spirit of universal brotherhood, of equal democracy, as existed by legend among its traditional founders. Belief in God and love for one's brethren are ideas founded in divinity and humanity which are absolutely indestructible. During all these ages there have been no trials for heresy or rewards for orthodoxy in Masonic lodges. The disciples of Dr. Briggs and his adversaries are equally welcome. The followers of Heber Newton and those who would cast him out can find with us hospitable homes. The advanced students who claim that they have found errors in the accepted translation of the Bible which necessitate a revision, and the associates of the

good old deacon who remarked, in regard to the translation by the authority of King James which we have, that the version that was good enough for St. Paul was good enough for him, can all take equal and fraternal rank with us. We are liberal enough to embrace all creeds and all sects who acknowledge one supreme and overruling Deity. How they shall worship him, by what formula or under what diversity of doctrine, we leave to their individual and independent consciences.

When the world has been plunged in savagery and superstition, when continents have been drenched in blood, when cruelty has immured in dungeons and stretched upon the rack the disciples of civil and religious liberty, the Masonic sign of distress has always been recognized upon the battlefield or in the torture chamber, and with it the kinship of blood and brotherhood.

Secrecy is not potent for perpetuity. Secret societies, political, religious, social, labor, and national, have been created by the million and have lived their brief lives and expired. Organizations which have for their object the pursuit of a policy in government, the propagation of a creed, or the improvement and strengthening of a craft, form and dissolve with recurring years, and no trace of them is found in succeeding centuries. Organizations formed, with the best intentions, for promoting the welfare of mankind by community of property and interests, have flourished for a brief period and then resolved into their original elements because of their practical denial of the truth that manhood and individuality are the eternal attributes of successful effort. The guild of the Middle Ages still exists, but it has lost its purpose and power, and survives only as an exhibit of medieval mummeries and for the support of the corporators, who thrive upon its accumulated funds. All societies, save the one which celebrates to-day, are the creatures of localities, nationality, or temporary emergency. But Masonry, marching under the leadership of God and the banner which bears the motto "Love thy neighbor as thyself," with the peasant and the prince, the mechanic and the merchant, the workingman and the millionaire, the learned and the unlearned following in equal rank and common step, knows neither race nor nationality, neither caste nor conditions, as it proudly and beneficently moves down the centuries.

The chief factor in education and the conservator in society is association. The mighty movement of our century threatens

the destruction of the individual. In the maelstrom of competition and crowded populations, each strives for himself at the expense of his neighbor. The old tie of acquaintance and sympathy is broken. Associations properly formed and cultivated are the barriers against the flood which would engulf the best elements of humanity. There is virtue in secrecy, where no wrongs are contemplated behind the closed doors, but only the mutual benefit of the members. If the applicants are properly sifted, those who pass into the inner circle are the survivals of the fittest. In the attrition of ingenuous minds, discussing freely all subjects under the rose, in the communings of warm hearts and liberal souls, each gains from the other a measure of strength, and the composite is a more perfect man. Associations of men and women engaged in similar pursuits accomplish most admirable results, but mainly in the direction of their material welfare. Trades Unions have their mission and their sphere, which are essential to the proper working of a great industrial community.

No society, however, can long harmoniously live with increasing populations, unless there be some method by which those of different pursuits, conditions in life, intellectual acquirement, and success in the battle for supremacy, can meet upon common ground. This is one of the missions of political parties. It is one of the great human benefits of churches. It is the best of the results of academic and collegiate companionship. Every institution, every organization, every association which tends to further the filling up of social chasms, the harmonizing of labor and capital, the bettering of the acquaintance of those whom circumstances have antagonized but whose interest it is to be friends, is patriotic in its purpose and work. But the leveler which brings the heir to the British throne, when Grand Master of the order in England, upon the same plane with the humblest of his subjects, which causes the President, the Cabinet Minister, the Governor of the State, the judge, the congressman, to sit satisfied within the lodge under the authority of a Worshipful Master who holds no public office, has no money, and lives by the labor of his hands and the sweat of his brow, is the Masonic order.

The rock upon which all societies and organizations have split has been either Church or State. An excursion into the fields of religion or politics has paralyzed the principles of their origin, and their members have fled from warring companionship. By hered-

ity, tradition, education, and affection men and women are anchored to the faith of their fathers. No lodge can survive the introduction of a dispute as to creeds or the attempt to enforce one dogma as against another.

The stake no longer exists for those who would rather be burned than recant, but the candidates for martyrdom, for conscience' sake, are as numerous in one age as another. Notwithstanding all that is said in regard to the loose tendencies of our time, each year is more securely religious than the past. Despite all the tributes which are paid to the liberalizing tendencies of our age, there is no loosening of faith upon the essentials of truth or doctrine. While few societies might attempt the hazards of religious discussion and difference, the venture into politics is always attractive. The ambitious aspirant for political favors is proverbially reckless of consequences in the use of methods by which he climbs to place and power. He will use his pastor, and hazard a schism in the Church; he will cultivate his lodge, and risk its disruption. Broader than the ambition of the individual is the allurement which power holds out to an association comprised of great numbers of citizens to make themselves felt as an order in public affairs. They may secure the doubtful laurels of a first or a second election, they may exist for a few years as a disturbing element in political calculations, but their destruction is as certain as the perpetuity of the principle that governments must be controlled by one of two great parties moving upon conservative or liberal lines.

Masonry has been satisfied in all ages of the world to be loyal to all governments under which it might be, no matter what their form, but has afforded to each member the fullest liberty as citizen or subject to carry out and live up to his own ideas. It is only within the walls of his own temple that, regardless of autocracy, monarchy, or republicanism without, the Mason stands upon the plane and square of a pure democracy. Our order could live under Judaism, and upon the completion of Solomon's Temple carry its principles and faith into every part of the civilized world. It could thrive under the Roman Empire without exciting the hostility or the jealousy of the Cæsars. During the Middle Ages violence and bigotry had divided the world into masters and slaves. Voiceless humanity, denied a hearing before any tribunal, and groaning under untold wrongs, injustice, and outrages, could

only mutely appeal to Heaven for help. The prayer to God for succor, for life, for liberty, must be made through temples builded in his honor. The serf, the vassal, or the slave could neither design nor erect them, but the brethren of the Mystic Tie, by the strength of their association, had preserved their manhood and independence. They were Free Masons. They designed, erected, carved, and beautified those superb cathedrals which were the religion of other centuries and are the wonder of ours.

A hundred years ago, at Newburgh, when the Revolution had succeeded, and the Continental Army was disbanding, Washington and all his generals, standing within the precincts of a Masonic lodge, of which they were all members, could rejoice in the fact that the Masonic principle of the equality of all men before the law, had at last, after unnumbered centuries, become the cornerstone of the Republic. A century of the successful operation of this principle enables us to contemplate to-day a Government of sixty-three millions of people possessing more power, enjoying more happiness, delighting in more liberty, and richer and more prosperous than those of any other nation upon earth. We turn from Washington and his generals and their great work in war, from the early Grand Masters of our State, Robert R. Livingston, who gave us our judiciary system, and DeWitt Clinton, who created the Erie Canal and wedded the lakes to the sea, to the duties of the hour. The past is superb and secure. The present is peace. The future, under the beneficent operations of the institution founded here to-day, and kindred asylums which will be established in the different parts of the State, will open with increasing years new avenues for charity and fresh reservoirs of benevolence.

CORNER-STONE OF WORLD BUILDING

SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE "WORLD" BUILDING, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 10, 1889.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Two events within two years of each other in the sixteenth century have had greater influence upon human rights and human liberties than anything else that has occurred during the Christian era. These were the landing of the Pilgrims upon Plymouth Rock, and the founding of the first newspaper in the English language. The results which followed the New England settlement have been singularly coincident with the development of the freedom and power of the press. The charter framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* was the genesis of the principle of the equality of all men before the law, which is the spirit of American liberty and the source of our national progress and greatness. It created a system of government subject to public opinion, and the necessity for the fullest and freest expression of the voice of the people made possible the enfranchisement and pervading force of the press. The first American newspaper was founded 199 years ago, but, following the traditions of the past, the royal authority instantly suppressed it. The second effort of the censor to prohibit the criticism of officials and the discussion of current questions created Benjamin Franklin and lighted the fires of the American Revolution. When royal Governors no longer dared to seize and subservient legislatures to enact statutes to destroy the press, that cunning fiction of the law, the greater the truth the greater the libel, became a deadly instrument for vengeance and punishment in the hands of unscrupulous and arbitrary authorities. But the facts and fictions, the laws and precedents of other and older civilizations were swept away by the rising tide and resistless current of the new democracy. Here in the city of New York that sturdy old editor, John Peter Zenger, gave expression to the popular discontent and exposed the iniquities and assailed the tyrannical acts of the Government. The Governor ordered the Mayor and Council to attend the burning of Zenger's paper by the hangman, but they refused. After nine

months' imprisonment he was finally brought to trial. Against the wishes of the Governor and the instructions of the Judge, the jury considered the truth of the alleged libel a justification for its publication, and acquitted him. The bonfires and the illuminations, the universal popular rejoicing and applause which greeted the verdict, were the public manifestations that the people had found and freed their tribune.

The bulletin first issued to privileged and official people, though claimed to be the parent of the newspaper, was in no sense the modern press. The town crier popularized the bulletin, but the memorable midnight news of the Philadelphia watchman, which announced the close of the Revolutionary War, "Cornwallis has surrendered and all's well," bears as little relation to the extra of to-day as does a shooting star to the comet which spans the heavens and illumines the universe. When the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed four weekly papers constituted the journalism of the State of New York. The account of Washington's inauguration in 1789, though regarded then, as now, as an event of incomparable significance, was sluggishly diffused in the succeeding four weeks, through the one hundred newspapers in the United States. But the celebration of its centennial in 1889 was chronicled the next morning in over a thousand dailies, and its lesson enforced in six thousand weeklies in this Republic, and the story borne on the lightning, preceding the sun and encircling the globe, was greeted with the rising orb by the peoples of the earth as the dawn of a better day.

It is more difficult to ascertain the elements which make a powerful and successful journal than to discover the qualities which have created our great men. Horace Greeley once said that while it required extraordinary ability to build up a newspaper it needed greater genius to destroy one. This was an epigrammatic estimate of the tremendous momentum of an established journal. All famous papers differ in their characteristics, and appeal to and voice the sentiments of diverse constituencies, but are alike in their pronounced individuality and independence. The press had no real rank among the forces of civilization and society until the processes of evolution and development had produced the independent newspaper. The party organ is as necessary among a free people as the parties whose antagonisms secure healthy discussion and promote good government. But the thick-

and-thin supporter of every measure, and defender of every man bearing the label of its organization, is a memory of the good old times. The great exponents of party principles both follow and lead. They are too near the popular judgment to be misled. Their prosperity no longer depends upon patronage or subsidies. Their fearless criticisms and significant warnings constantly check the charlatans or knaves who work to the front in every organization. Even the great leaders heed their warnings and fear their opposition. General Jackson could dismiss the *National Intelligencer* and give instant circulation and power to the *Telegraph* and Duff Green; and, with equal ease and ready acquiescence, the faithful on his order received their instructions and principles from the *Globe* and Francis P. Blair.

But to-day the press sits beside the ministers in cabinet council, participates in the discussions of the senate, and shares the secrets of the executive session. It is present at the consultations of the judges of every court, and penetrates the recesses of the jury room. The President no longer attempts to direct its utterances, but is of all citizens the most eager and attentive listener to its opinions. With all its power the newspaper is the expression of popular ideas and aspirations, and not their originator. The most marked feature of the increase of independent thought and individual action in our generation is the success of journals which have no party ties, and are wedded to no definite policy; to-day friendly and to-morrow hostile to the Government. In this campaign, supporting the candidates of one party and in the next those of the other, and in many cases denouncing both, they represent the constantly growing forces of intellectual discontent, the ever recruiting legions of doubters and free thinkers, who without forming a third party, account for shifting majorities, and curb the arrogance and moderate the demands of blind partisanship.

Our population may be divided into two classes, a smaller one which reads books and newspapers and a larger one which reads newspapers only. For the mass the press molds the opinions of the man and mars or mends the morals of his family. After an hour's conversation I can tell which one of our great metropolitan journals my friend habitually reads. It is transparent in his talk, and evident in his conduct.

The liberty of the press is so firmly established, and upon such

liberal lines, that it need fear neither the condemnation of courts nor the verdicts of juries. Its only restraint is the judgment and conscience of its managers. The press performs one aggressive and essential function; little recognized, but of the utmost public importance. It does service in great cities which neither officials nor voluntary associations can accomplish. It has fearlessly exposed corruption when courts were paralyzed and citizens terrorized. It has inaugurated reforms which have been the salvation of municipal government. The absorption of the people in great metropolitan centers in their private business, and the absence of opportunity for general gatherings and ordinary acquaintance, destroy public spirit and leave the management of affairs to professional manipulators, who often administer upon the property of the people as if it were their personal estate. In these conditions the press fulfills the functions of the mass meeting, of the vigilance committee, of the council of public safety and political reform. Without its Argus-eyed watchfulness and courageous integrity, government in these vast and crowded settlements of struggling masses and clashing interests, of divers nationalities and antagonistic civilizations, would be a dismal experience and frightful failure.

The laying of the corner-stone of one of these immense structures, which houses a great journal and is the enduring monument of its success and power, is an event of more than ordinary interest. Around and in sight of us are buildings which express more eloquently both the intellectual and material progress of the country than its stately capitols or splendid palaces, its furnaces or factories, its mills or its railroads. The Pyramids and obelisks of the past, the national monuments of every age, are symbols of force and conquest. But these splendid structures built by the modern newspaper, are the results of a combination of brains and business, of mental vigor and culture, of ability in the conduct of affairs, of statesmanship and common sense, which makes possible American literature and perpetuates American liberty. Yonder rise the stories and towers which will tell to all succeeding generations the story and the glory of Greeley and Raymond, of Bennett and Bryant and Dana.

Upon this spot will be erected a building worthy of its wonderful surroundings and illustrating the strength and influence of a great journal and the limitless opportunities this Republic offers

to genius and pluck. The growth of the *World,* since Mr. Joseph Pulitzer became its proprietor, is the present marvel of newspaper history. It is only six years since he assumed its ownership and management, and, from a daily circulation of less than ten thousand, it issues from its mammoth presses millions of copies a week, and in the reversal of the conditions which made it a profitless enterprise, its income rears this massive pile. Starting in a field apparently full, the New York *World* has made for itself power, position, and influence unsurpassed among its contemporaries.

Twenty-six years ago a youth landed on these shores from Hungary. He had neither money nor acquaintances nor friends in this strange land, and was ignorant of our language. In the meridian of his manhood he is now the proprietor of a successful journal in the West and of this great metropolitan newspaper. The structure which will rise above this corner-stone will be not only an enduring monument to his ability and energy, but will illustrate for coming generations the assimilative power of our institutions and the equal possibilities under them for all ctizens, whether native or foreign born, to attain fame and fortune.

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS

ADDRESS BEFORE THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AT PITTSBURG, OCTOBER 16, 1890.

GENTLEMEN: Only an invitation of unusual attractiveness could induce me to spend two nights on the sleeping car and deliver an address, but your call to be with you for the third time was an indication of the unabated friendship which existed between us that demanded an equally cordial recognition. My voluble and voluminous friend, Mr. Powderly, said recently that at the meeting of the Locomotive Engineers of New England, which I addressed in the Opera House at New Haven, just before sailing for Europe, your Grand Chief Mr. Arthur, and I, edified the audience by falling into each other's arms and kissing. While that event did not take place, I am glad now as then to express the esteem felt by everyone for the man whose ability and conservatism have done so much to elevate and dignify labor and to win for its efforts the respect of the country.

This is the twenty-seventh annual convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. During the period of your existence and prosperous growth hundreds of labor organizations have been formed and dissolved. They have been started to carry out novel theories or to put in practice unusual and untried processes. The success of your body is due to its rigid and unswerving adherence to the right principles upon which it was founded. Association is the rule of our time, and finds expression in the general laws upon the statute book under which, with little expense or formality, people with kindred objects can incorporate for almost every conceivable purpose in business, religion, benevolence, and the arts, or for literary or social objects.

We have learned from experience several important lessons. It has been demonstrated that socialism, either with individuals or by the state, is incompatible with our liberty, and cannot survive under our institutions. Over five hundred societies have

been formed to put in practice socialistic theories. They have been headed by earnest, self-sacrificing, and devoted people, and wrecked by disciples who could get along with nobody in this world, and would never be received into the next, and who fondly imagined that they could create a better world of their own. It is clear that success is impossible unless the manhood of the individual is secure, and his ability to improve his condition and rise above his surroundings is conceded. That the fireman can become a locomotive engineer, the locomotive engineer the master mechanic, the master mechanic the superintendent of motive power, the superintendent of motive power the superintendent or general manager of the railway and possibly its president, is the law of our American development and the source of our national pre-eminence. But it must also be admitted that the individual has liberty of thought and expression, and that the will of the majority must be secured before action can be taken.

No labor organization can permanently succeed whose sole and only object is to increase wages and diminish hours. It lacks the essential bond of mutual sympathy and brotherly help in bearing or lightening each other's burdens. The tendency of such an organization is inevitably and rapidly to collisions and failure. The fundamental idea of your brotherhood is, first, charity in support of the sick or injured, and contributions to the families of the dead; second, education, which perfects the artisan in the theory and practice of his trade, and broadens him for larger usefulness as a citizen; and, third, protection in securing and maintaining your rights. Your record is unexampled in the history of the contract between employer and employees at home or abroad, in the harmonious relations which have been maintained, and in the intelligence and prosperity of your members. We have in this country no accurate reports as to the administration of the funds of labor organizations or trade unions, but in England these returns are made, and from them I gather that for the last year—1889—the ten leading trade union-organizations of Great Britain expended $1,300,000 in charity and insurance for their members, and only $120,000 in labor disputes.

In the United States our pace is so rapid, and our development so phenomenal that without due consideration we rush rapidly to extremes. This is true both of capital and labor. The money required to construct telegraphs, to build railroads, to es-

tablish banks, was beyond the power of the individual, and so the State permitted aggregated capital, representing the contributions of many, to perform these works. At the same time, through commissions, departments, and State officers, the hand of the Government was constantly upon them for the protection of the public against extortion or discrimination. But within a few years everything, from pine lands to peanuts, and from steel rails to sardines, has been organized into some form of corporation or trust. This universal effort to absorb the individual, to divide the people into employing companies and employees, and to destroy competition, will inevitably end in disaster. Hostile legislation and the laws of trade will leave only the legitimate enterprises surviving. In the same way and from the same causes there have been several ambitious attempts to form gigantic labor trusts, which should combine under one central and autocratic authority every occupation in which a wage-earner or a bread-winner could engage. In all such associations of trades and occupations having nothing in common, certain qualities of audacity, fluency of speech, and capacity for manipulating caucuses and conventions push to the front many men who know little of the great interests confided to their care. Labor must be as intelligent as capital upon its own grounds. The committee which calls upon the employer or the railroad officer must know its own business as well as he does, otherwise from angry contentions because of ignorance, comes the exercise of brute force, and violence fails to secure that which in nine cases out of ten could have been had by intelligent presentation.

Hundreds of committees of our employees have been to see me, and I can safely say that, after the full and free discussion which always took place, not one of them ever went out of my office except to carry back a satisfactory messsage to its constituents. I do not mean that what was asked was always granted, because an intelligent committee, when it meets the president of the railroad and sees the other side, always modifies and sometimes abandons its demands. The reason for these ready settlements was that the men understood their own business, and knew precisely what they wanted, and how much the company could afford to concede. But in the operations of what I may call the labor trust I have had three experiences. A force of fifteen men were located at one point on the line and, in common with other

trades in that neighborhood, were members of the local assembly. The chief of that assembly was a shoemaker who had a quarrel with a passenger conductor, and, to get even with the railroad, ordered these men to quit work. They lost their places, with all the attendant misery to themselves and their families, without knowing why they were ordered out, nor have they ever to this day presented any statement. A high official in the order called upon me by an appointment made by his private secretary. In discussing the alleged grievance which he came to correct, I speedily discovered that he knew nothing either of the character of the work, or the wages paid, or the hours of service of the people whom he represented. He then confessed that he never had been in the railroad service, or worked an hour upon a railroad in his life. Such representatives of organized labor bring it into disrepute both with employers and with the public. No matter how able a man may be as a cabinet-maker or a carpenter or a mason, and no matter how competent to represent his own trade, he would be absolutely helpless in endeavoring to argue the claims of a Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Locomotive Engineers, educated in the principles of the Brotherhood, would never attempt to speak except of that which they thoroughly understood—their own business and that of their brethren. A committee called upon me last fall with a series of complaints and demands, all of which were quickly and satisfactorily adjusted. They then made a demand for the Locomotive Engineers. I said to them, "Gentlemen, that is a body able to speak for itself." They then said that their object was to break up the organization of Locomotive Engineers and to gather into the one organization every department of the railway service, and that if the management of the Central Road would recognize the claims of engineers only through them, this result would be brought about, and upon a much lower basis than the Brotherhood could admit under their rules, and if we did not do so they would strike and tie up the road. I said to them, "I regard the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as the best labor organization in the United States, as a safeguard both to the public and to the corporation, against unreasonable demands or intemperate violence, and you may do your worst, but in a matter which affects the Brotherhood I will recognize only them." That night the officers

of the Brotherhood were informed, and the concession made to them, and that threat of a strike was never carried out.

The duties of a railroad to the public are now so clearly defined and so well understood that all of us, in whatever grade of service, are in a certain sense the servants of the public. To close a line like the New York Central, and inflict the attendant hardships upon hundreds of thousands of people, and the enormous losses upon business men and wage-earners alike, is so great a calamity and so near a crime that those who are responsible, and in the wrong, are bound to suffer. Public opinion is the mighty arbiter on such an occasion. If against the corporation it cannot resist, but must yield; if it be against the class of employees which are causing the trouble, the road will surely win. Years of successful trial, of fair, frank, and friendly discussions with the employees of the Central, upon questions in dispute which arose from time to time, had led me to believe that a strike was impossible upon the line of that road. In that trust I went abroad on my annual summer holiday, only to have my hopes roughly shattered while musing at Oberammergau one Sunday evening on the happy lesson of peace and good will among men taught by the Passion Play, which I had been witnessing all day, by a cable announcing that the words "Webster's Dictionary" flashed over the wires had caused thousands to desert their posts, and the greatest artery of commerce and travel in the United States to be stopped. But you were true to the relations which for many years had been established, and sustained and reinvigorated my fading faith in the efficacy of any effort to maintain a satisfactory and permanent understanding between capital and labor. The citizens of New York and of the whole country owe to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers a debt of gratitude for the courage, fidelity, and intelligence with which they stood by their posts and performed their duties during the recent troubles on the New York Central.

A locomotive engineer has necessarily the qualities which make success in the railway world. The firemen are the recruits for your Brotherhood, but there is often complaint among them as to methods of promotion. Sometimes it is claimed that it should go only by seniority of service. But there are firemen who in fifty years would never become locomotive engineers, while others, in a few years, make admirable ones. Some men are too light-

headed and will pull out of a switch before the express has passed, or miscalculate the time for the next turn-out, so that constant collisions are occurring with their trains. Some are too bumptious, and will take their chances without first receiving the orders of the train dispatcher. But the true locomotive engineer is always a man of sense, of quick thought and courage in an emergency, and in peril a hero. With his train thundering along at the rate of fifty miles an hour, and the safety of hundreds of passengers dependent upon his judgment and skill, his decision made instantly, and in the presence of danger, saves the train from destruction many times without the public ever being the wiser. He sees the tottering bridge, the obstruction upon the track, the open switch. The opportunity is before him to reverse and jump, or to stick to his engine and perform his duties. In ninety-nine cases of a hundred he utters a brief prayer, bids a mental good-by to his wife and little ones at home, and rescues his train or goes calmly to his death. In the riots of 1863, when the city of New York was in the possession of a mob, trains of the Hudson River Road were stopped, and hundreds of women were in the depot at Thirtieth Street unable to get to their homes. The rioters threatened to kill anyone who tried to move a wheel. An engineer instantly volunteered and said "I will take that train up the river." On either side of the road were men frenzied with rage and with drink, ready for murder or any desperate deed, but they were so awed by the calm courage of this engineer that he was permitted to proceed. This last summer, after forty years of service on the Central, this engineer, Henry Millikin, joined the silent majority. His name stands among the unheralded heroes who are the pride and the glory of our humanity.

Much has recently been said in favor of the ownership of railroads by the Government on the ground that the employees would be in a better position. The office-holder is never sure of his place, and no employment is so insecure as that under the Government. The public danger of giving to an administration a million additional appointments is too obvious for discussion. But on the question of the independence, the influence, the wages and treatment of employees under the Government, I had two object lessons while in Europe this summer. In Germany, where the railroads are owned by the state, they are made part of its military system. Locomotive engineers receive an average of

less than forty-five dollars per month, and the men in other branches of the service are paid in proportion. The discipline is rigid, and any insubordination or violation of the rule subjects the offender to punishment from which there is no escape. The wages of the letter-carriers in England average about six dollars a week. It costs quite as much to live in London as in New York. These men, finding the postal authorities paid no attention to their petitions, went out on a strike. Their places were filled the next morning and a policeman put beside each new employee. Their meetings were broken up, and they were not permitted to stand about or come near the stations. They woke up, when too late, to a realization of the disheartening fact that they were practically fighting the British Empire and had arrayed against them all its resources.

Libraries have been written upon labor and capital, but they are mostly trash. Labor cannot live without capital to furnish it employment, and capital, without labor to enable it to increase and multiply, is as useless as diamonds on a desert island to a shipwrecked and starving mariner. When capital selfishly strives to secure an unfair proportion of the profits by reducing the laborer to conditions which endanger the health, morality, and education of his family, it is certain to incite a revolt which will end in its impairment or destruction. When labor pushes its demands to a point where capital receives no return or incurs loss, the business stops and employment ceases. In the varying phases of our complex civilization, and the conditions produced by machinery, invention, new industries, and rapid settlement, no general rule seems possible which shall be applicable to all cases as a panacea for the antagonisms between capital and labor. Every difficulty must be solved upon its own merits. It is just here that an intelligent labor organization, composed only of the occupation which seeks to secure a right or redress a wrong, can meet its employer upon grounds which will show their mutual dependence and promote their common benefit. It is just here that ignorance or incompetence on the one side produces irritation and resistance on the other, and capital loses its earnings and labor its wages.

The period ought to come when the employees in any industry shall not be arrayed in hostile camps over the whole country against their employers in the same business, when the combina-

tions will not be of the workers on the one hand and the officers or firms on the other as against each other, but with good sense, friendly feeling, and kindly tempered dispositions, they shall meet upon common grounds for the common good, and an overwhelming sense of common interest. Then men of every grade of employment, from the president down, in corporations like the New York Central or the Pennsylvania Railroad, will be united in the loyal endeavor to make the railroad which they serve the best equipped, the most attractive, and the most formidable in the field of competition; to put it in the position where its service will be the most satisfactory, and it will command the patronage of the public. Then the communities dependent on these great lines of transportation will feel the beneficent influence in increasing populations and general prosperity, which come so marvelously where the railroads are wisely administered, and stockholders and employees alike will share in the prevailing good times.

PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION

ADDRESS AT THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION AT BUFFALO, N.Y., ON RAILROAD DAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1901.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have been for thirty-five years in the railway service. It was my good fortune in the earlier days and subordinate positions to have those confidential relations with the executive which gave me an intimate knowledge of every department of railway work. The most treasured recollections of this period are the friends who, once made, have never failed, and who were from every rank, from the footboard to the superintendent of motive power, from the track to the general superintendent, from the machine shop to the master mechanic, from the desks in the offices to the traffic managers, the general passenger agents, the treasurers and the whole staff. An active and energetic pursuit of politics, running along with railway work, has brought me also in close contact with citizens of every profession, business, vocation and trade in the country. In this way I have been able to form a judgment upon the characteristics, the good citizenship, the intelligence and the character of railway men as they are like or differ from men in other pursuits.

So much has been said of late years about railway power and influence that, in order to have a clearer view of the dignity and usefulness of our profession, we should take a short hour for a review of the rise, development, and present position of the great carriers of the world. Empires and cities have grown and decayed as they were favorably or unfavorably situated along the great highways of commerce. The flourishing mart of to-day is the deserted hamlet of to-morrow, when new routes and better ones have diverted the course of traffic to other channels than those on which the ruined city is located. Transportation in its modern sense is one, and the most important, of the mighty agencies which made the nineteenth the most important century in the history of mankind. It has always been possible for commerce to thrive along navigable water-courses, but the difficulty

in reaching the interior, the cost of transportation increasing for every mile by old methods, made population and industries impossible upon any modern scale. The imagination is appalled in the effort to grasp where the world would be to-day and what the condition of its inhabitants if the steamship and the railroad had not been invented. It is little more than seventy years since Stephenson built his locomotive. I found a book of minutes of the directors of one of the earliest railroads—the Mohawk and Hudson. This was one of the links which now form the New York Central. At the meeting of the Board in 1831, a committee of the directors and the engineer had reported in favor of substituting an iron for a wooden rail. The directors were not convinced. They reported it back to the engineer and the committee for further investigation and report. Among the members of this board were the first John Jacob Astor and Hamilton Fish. The latter lived to see all the marvels produced by the railroad of to-day. The rail of the period was a thin strap nailed upon the wood, and this strap, getting loose at the ends, would be caught by the wheel and run up through the cars, frequently impaling the passenger or cutting off his leg or arm.

Without the railroad there would have been no Northwestern, no Mountain, and no Pacific States. The few people in the vast territory between Chicago and the Pacific Ocean would have been engaged exclusively in agriculture. Their harvests, their flocks and their herds would have been useful only for the food of themselves and their neighbors. The cost of transportation would have been prohibitive. Cheap transportation by the railway has enabled the Dakota farmer to sell his wheat to the miller at Minneapolis or at Buffalo, and the miller to sell his flour to New England and the Middle States. It has permitted the West and Northwest to successfully compete in the English markets with grain from Russia, Egypt and India. It has made the vast plains beyond the great lakes, which were the feeding grounds of the buffalo fifty years ago, the granary of the world. It has enabled the artisan to live, the factory, the mills and the furnaces to exist, the mines to be opened and comforts and luxuries to be enjoyed by all the people. With a modern system of transportation wholly developed within the three-score years and ten allotted to the span of life, every family, without regard to its position in life, enjoys the comforts and luxuries in the products of other

climes, other countries and other continents, which even the richest could not procure a hundred years ago. Upon the table of every working man is the food which has come thousands of miles across the continent and the oceans, and in his family are the clothing, the furniture, the tools of his trade and the equipment of his home, which represent a lesson in geography of varied industries, of the raw material, its place of growth and place of conversion into the manufactured products, and of the lives and conditions of far-distant peoples which was hardly within the possible information of a college professor in the time of his grandfather.

Since the construction of Stephenson's locomotive, seventy-two years ago, there have been built in the whole world 475,000 miles of railway, which are capitalized at about forty billions of dollars. The aggregate length of the railways of the United States is 197,000 miles, and is capitalized in stock and bonds at eleven billions seven hundred and nineteen millions of dollars. The mileage of our railroads is six times greater than that of any other country, and many thousands of miles longer than all the railroads of Europe put together. While the United States occupy but six per cent. of the land surface of the earth, they have over forty per cent. of its railway mileage. The internal commerce of our country is so vast that the tonnage annually carried by our railroads is greater than the totals for Great Britain, Ireland, France and Germany combined, and to that may be added the ocean tonnage of all the seas also.

Railway development in the United States commenced in 1830. In that year forty miles were built. Up to 1860 we had reached in the thirty years only 28,000 miles or less than a thousand miles a year. The Civil War, by death and wounds, took two millions of men out of the active industries of the country; it destroyed over ten thousand millions of dollars' worth of property; it added three thousand millions to our national debt; it devastated ten States, and yet the benefits and the blessings of the abolition of slavery, the removal of the danger of disunion, and the unification of the Republic in one great nation were so great that between 1865 and 1870, 21,000 miles of railway were built; between 1870 and 1880, 37,000 miles more, and between 1880 and 1890, 77,000 miles still additional, while from 1890 to 1897 there were added 21,000 miles more, and from 1897 to

1900 there were 9,000 miles built. These figures are more eloquent than the most glowing utterances that have moved armies to victory, senates to action, and peoples to religious frenzy. Every mile of railroad built means tens of thousands of acres brought under cultivation and opened for settlement; it means villages and cities, happy homes and industrious and thriving populations. It is safe to say that without the railway development of to-day, if the population of Europe or America were the same, the congestion would lead to poverty, starvation, misery and anarchy beyond the power of imagination to conceive.

There were in the service of the railroads in 1900—that is, on their payrolls—over a million men, and there were paid to these men in that year $577,000,000, or sixty per cent. of the entire expenses of the railways for their operation. There were at least a million more men engaged in building cars and locomotives, in mining coal, in getting out ore, in making steel rails and their attachments, and in a multitude of other employments, which exist only to supply the railroads; so that one in every fifteen of the persons in the United States who are engaged in economical pursuits or earning wages or salaries, get their living from the operation of the railroads of the country. The gross earnings of the railroads of the United States in 1900 was $1,487,000,000. Of this, $577,000,000 went for labor directly on the payroll; material and supplies, which are mainly labor, rentals, interest and taxes, absorbed all the rest of the $910,000,000 earnings, except $118,000,000 to the stockholders. To make this situation more clearly understood, of every hundred dollars earned by the railroad, thirty-nine dollars go directly to the employees of the company, twenty-seven dollars go for supplies—which is labor—twenty-three dollars go for interest on indebtedness and rentals of other peoples and city properties, three dollars are paid in taxes, and eight dollars go to the stockholders. These eight dollars, distributed over the capitalization, yield in dividends on the stock a little over two per cent. To be entirely fair it must be understood that on about one-third of the capitalization of the railroads of the country no dividends are paid at all, which makes a higher average for the roads which do pay dividends.

When I entered the railroad service, in 1866, the rate per ton per mile for freight was two cents, or twenty mills; the aver-

age rate per ton per mile on all railroads of the country in 1900 was about seven mills. This reduction makes the rate of to-day little more than a third of what it was thirty years ago. Had our railroads received in 1900 the same rates for freight which they did thirty years ago their income would have been nearly treble.

This reduction has enormously stimulated the productive energies of the United States. The interest on the bonded debt at that period averaged seven per cent. It has now come down to about four and one-half per cent., while most of the railroads which were paying eight or ten per cent. have come down to four or five per cent. The public has received the whole of this reduction; none of it has been taken off from labor. One bushel of wheat in 1866 would carry two bushels from Chicago to New York; one bushel of wheat in 1900 would carry six bushels from Chicago to New York.

In this same thirty-five years of my railroad service, while rates have gone down nearly two-thirds for freight and one-third for passengers, the taxes have doubled. These reductions in the net earnings of the railways, because of constant lowering of rates by railroad wars and other causes, have not been felt at all by the employees. On the contrary, their wages have been constantly increased, having been advanced 87½ per cent., or nearly double, during that period.

The building of 150,000 miles of railway in thirty years led to great confusion and to many errors and mistakes. On the one hand it stimulated an enormous immigration and settlement; the productive energies of the country were pushed to their utmost, and everywhere was feverish haste. Speculative spirit was aroused and periods of prosperity soon developed mad speculation and ended in a series of panics phenomenal in the history of business and finance. States, territories, farming communities, mining centers and cities clamored for railways. Agents swarmed over Europe presenting glowing pictures of the opportunities for homes, comfort and wealth in these new communities, and along the lines of these recently constructed railways. Syndicates and construction companies pushed the lines as far and fast as the securities could be sold in the market. As fast as the construction company had closed its account upon one line it moved to a new enterprise, and the public became the possessors of the securities of the new corporation. In most instances the line at

first did not pay, and the investing public lost vast sums of money by the depreciation of the stocks and bonds, or the foreclosure and reorganization of the companies. The communities which had been most clamorous for the railways, and had felt their benefits in the increased value of their farms, in the development of their water-power and in the sudden building of their towns, soon came into collision with the managers of the lines on the question of freight rates. Politicians and demagogues who had been most active in stimulating the popular demand for the railroad saw their opportunity in promoting prejudices against it. The railway managers of that period did not appreciate their duties to the public. They were autocratic and arbitrary, and in many instances untrained. The business grew beyond the education of men competent to manage it. It takes the qualities which produce a great general and make a successful business man on a large scale to manage the intricate relations of a railway company with its several communities, with the general public and with its employees and owners. Enormous prices for salaries and in lump sums were bid for this talent, often without success. The difference between an able and even a moderately equipped manager will be to a great railroad so many millions of dollars that his salary cuts no figure. The inability of many railway managers to grasp the situation, the panics which threw whole communities into bankruptcy or suspended industries which meant extreme poverty and the misrepresentations of the politician who hoped to climb to power on a new issue, created violent antagonisms in many States between the people and the railroads. Then came forward a class of statesmen who formulated bills as remarkable for their ignorance of the situation as they were injurious to both the operations of the road and to the people who patronized it. The greatest and most intricate scientific problem of the age could not be solved by sweeping measures of restriction or confiscation prepared by men, however honest and well-meaning, who could not possibly comprehend the subject. The consolidation of connecting lines was violently opposed as hostile to the public interest and the argument seemed unanswerable, but the enormous benefits to the public in the reduction of rates, the improvement of the line and equipment, the speed of trains and the disappearance of frictions at every terminal, which have resulted from the consolidation of the eleven

roads which make the present New York Central, or the half dozen which make the present Lake Shore, are so universally admitted that a proposition to dissolve them into the original lines, and change freight and passengers at each end, as formerly, would now raise a revolution. Legislation by the States done in this hasty and crude way threatened to side-track large communities and deprive them of the benefits of the seaboard and interior being brought together. It took years to grasp, even if it is now fully understood, the relations between a train of loaded cars of wheat moving night and day from Dakota to New York, requiring little for its service of the vast equipment at stations and freight yards along the line, and the local train which takes up a partly loaded car here and there and serves the communities within the State line. After a bitter struggle in our own State of New York, which lasted some years, and which threatened the commercial supremacy of the State and city, as well as the destruction of the New York Central Railroad as a dividend paying company, I met, by the authority of Mr. Vanderbilt, these commercial bodies. We discussed these questions for months; we took volumes of testimony. I became convinced that of the three methods of meeting the question—ownership by the States or by the National Government, universal consolidation, not only of connecting lines but also of competing lines, and State and National supervision—the last was the true solution of the whole difficulty. It required the united strength of the commercial bodies and of the railroads to induce our Legislature, so heated had the public feeling become, to create a Railway Commission and give it these supervisory powers. It got in full operation about the time that I became president of the New York Central Railroad. For the fourteen years of administration and until its close I was brought in constant contact with the Commission and its operations, and felt that it would be strengthened by having upon it a railway man from the working force, and securing an amendment to that effect, Michael Rickard, a locomotive engineer, was appointed. The New York Central has never resisted any order of the Commission. Directly its orders have cost the company hundreds of thousands of dollars, but indirectly the benefits to the public and to the company have been incalculable. Every shipper and passenger and employee knows that a two-cent postage stamp will carry his complaint to Albany, and that it will be

immediately heard. He need be at no expense, for the Commission will undertake to act in his behalf.

The legislation of Massachusetts and New York has been happily followed by the formation of a national railway commission. This body has performed excellent service. Its functions are so important and affect such vast interests that the places upon the commission should be made so attractive, by length of term and compensation as to secure the ablest minds in the country. With some modification of the Inter-State Commerce Law and increase of power in the commission, a tribunal may be created which would take railroads in the nation out of politics, as they are in our own State. There is no reason why a railroad man should be discriminated against in the public service, and every reason why his training and intelligence render him as competent to fill office and execute with honor and ability the duties of any position as his fellow citizens of other callings or professions.

The railway service trains and educates. It develops the same type of men all over the world. They are quick to think and act, open-minded to suggestions and inventions, and free from bigotry of opinion. In England, this summer, I attended an inspection, and afterwards a lunch with one hundred and fifty of the general managers and heads of the operating, traffic, passenger, motive power, and engineering departments of the railways of Great Britain, and was made at once to feel at home. If the shareholders could depart from old traditions, and leave to these bright and progressive officers the reformation of their roads, every one of them would be up to date with American appliances and methods within a year. It was like an American railway convention, except that a superintendent of motive power said to me he had not yet got over the habit of turning Greek into English, and translated a chapter of Thucydides' history every day. I told him our master mechanics and superintendents quit that as soon as they were promoted from the shop or the cab of the locomotive to high office.

Nothing enlarges the understanding and liberalizes ideas like travel. The perpetual horizon of one's town is the prison wall of the mind. Provincialism believes that there is no business man, orator, teacher or genius like the village storekeeper, lawyer, preacher or poet. But when men and women cross the county

line and mingle with the world; when they meet the men whose hands are on the levers of progress and thought; when they see how infinitesimal we are except as parts of the vast and complex machinery of society, and the opportunities there are for larger activities and places—then they learn the most important lesson in life, which is "there are others." This development is the peculiar privilege of our profession. Railroad men go everywhere. They rub against statesmen and politicians, fools and frauds, employers and employees, the successful and moderately successful, those who control and those who swim with the tide, and see the operations of great enterprises. They are the most eager and observant readers of the newspapers. Among themselves, they are good fellows, in the camaraderie of an honorable and useful calling, and at home and abroad oracles of news and views.

The development of the close of the wonderful nineteenth century is specially distinct in our vocation. Thirty years ago there were no schools for the education which is now required. The old-timer was a rule-of-thumb man. He was a rough-and-ready customer, and his language was as lurid as his administration was arbitrary and tyrannical. He hated the new men from the schools, and all that he termed "new-fangled notions." Though some of the best of our managers of to-day have come from this class, the difficulties of their self-education and equipment demonstrate their extraordinary ability. Now, however, the service demands at the beginning a training undreamed of in the early days. I remember one of these hard-headed old superintendents who was overwhelmed with the sudden development of passenger traffic. The complaints of insufficient accommodations led to his being summoned before the board of directors. To the question why he did not provide more trains and more cars, his answer was, "What is the use? No matter how many cars we put on, the people will fill them up just the same."

Despair and pessimism have no place in the railway service. Its managers and heads of departments have risen from the ranks. Every young beginner can look up the hill which he wants to climb, and see every prominent position occupied by those who were once where he is, and his hopes will increase as he learns that merit and not favor wins promotions. Among the millions

of railway men who are voters there are no socialists and, thank God, not an anarchist.

The most valuable and valued political right in the world is American citizenship. Its liberty and opportunity can be had under no other government and in no other country. It is extended freely to all who come from foreign lands to enjoy its blessings. The greater its privileges, the greater the crime of seeking and then abusing them. To accept hospitality for the purpose of murder and requite it with assassination, in the common judgment of mankind, is the most hideous of outrages. The citizen circulates all over our land without restraint, registration or supervision. He has absolute liberty of speech, with his pen or upon the platform. The time has come when the law must draw the line between liberty and license. Teaching the weak or depraved or ignorant to kill our rulers is not the liberty guaranteed by our Declaration of Independence. We elect from among ourselves for a brief tenure those who shall govern us and carry out our laws. To-day our fellow citizen becomes a President by the fairly registered will of the majority, and to-morrow he is again one of ourselves in his private citizenship. No one could refuse a call from his countrymen to this great office, and it is within the legitimate ambition and possibility of every American boy. To make war on him in the same way as if he were a despot who recognized no rights due his oppressed subjects, is an attack on the foundations of our liberty, our social structure and all that makes life worth the living. We must safeguard our citizenship. We must raise the barriers and increase the requirements for immigration. While thus protecting our country from the admission of its avowed enemies, we must place somewhere the power to expel them.

We are here to visit this superb exhibition of the peaceful development of our own and of our sister countries of North and South America. But we are in the hall where President McKinley was so treacherously and foully assassinated. We cannot adjourn without expressing our horror of the murder, and hope for legislation which will specially meet this worst of crimes, and our love and reverence for our martyred President. There is but one sentiment among those who voted for and those who voted against him. Americans loved William McKinley. His domestic life and tender devotion to an invalid wife are part of

every American home. He was always a warm friend of railroad men, and appointed a locomotive engineer to be Third Assistant Postmaster General, one of the most responsible positions in the Government. During his administration, by reason of increased prosperity, one hundred and ninety-four thousand additional men have been placed on the pay rolls of the railways, and one hundred and ten millions of dollars more paid yearly in wages. His past is history, and an important and brilliant chapter of the most beneficent era in our country's life. Without prejudice or partisanship, we can all view with pride the great part he has played in the drama of nations. His legacy to his countrymen is the example of the acceptance and performance of every duty, public and private, with buoyant cheerfulness and scrupulous fidelity. He never complained of his lot or of his task, but joyously did the work before him. "It is God's will" was the motto of his life, as it was the consolation in his death. He was a soldier of the cross without cant or rant or fads or fanaticism. It was this idea which lifted him from the ranks to be major of his regiment before he was of age, which gave him the leadership in the House of Representatives, which carried him into the Presidency and gave his administration such marvelous success. It made his last hours and dying words most pathetic, fullest of courage and resignation, and most calmly heroic. He died as he had lived—in the broadest and highest sense—a Christian and a patriot.

COMMERCIAL TRAVELERS' MEETING

SPEECH AT THE COMMERCIAL TRAVELERS' MEETING IN NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 9, 1896.

FELLOW CITIZENS: It gives me great pleasure to be here to-day. My fellow commercial travelers, I feel that I am indeed one of you. A commercial traveler is distinguished for two things. One of these is that he tells a great many stories and the other is that he covers a great deal of the road. The only difference between my stories and yours is that mine are a little older. But they are quite as good. Very often when on my annual tour making political speeches I have a point to make. Next morning at the hotel I sometimes have a commercial traveler come to me who says, "If you would like to illustrate at the next town the point you made last night in your argument, here is a story that will do it." Then I take that story and put a Depewistic fresco to it, and it goes. Now, I travel a great many miles, as you know —about 30,000 miles a year on the railroad. I travel those many miles, as you do, for business purposes. I go for the purpose of inspecting various railway lines—for the purpose of comparing our line with others, to see if any suggestions can be received, and also for the purpose of preparing our line for doing the largest business in the quickest, most comfortable and best way at the lowest price. We want the best grades, the largest cars, the most powerful locomotives and the most skilled employees, and we want to be ready to do the carrying business of this country, no matter how it may extend.

Unfortunately during the last two years that preparation has been pushed forward, but the business has not come. If there is anything that grieves a railway manager more than anything else it is to ride along his line and see empty cars on the side tracks with nothing to do. The prosperity of the railroads, the prosperity of the United States, the prosperity of the mills, the prosperity of the mines, the prosperity of the farm, and the prosperity of the toiling masses, of which Mr. Bryan speaks, is in the revolving wheel. and every wheel revolving under every car in the

United States. When they are lying idle, as they are now, and as they have been for nearly two years past—40,000 or 50,000 cars between New York and Chicago—it means that there is something the matter with the business of this country, and when there is something the matter with this home market which does not require and cannot take what it ought to, it means that there is something which reaches every home in the land, and we want to know what is the matter.

There is no trouble with the country; it is the richest in the world. There is no trouble with the people; they are the most enterprising in the world. And if this tremendous productive power and energy of the people cannot make business there is something the matter with the law, or with the Government, that is preventing it. Now, this is a non-partisan meeting, but you have a stubborn, strait-laced Republican on the platform, and I am compelled to say that I think fooling with the protection principle has something to do with it, but I want to say also that I believe the threat against the standard of value and the threat of a debased currency has still more to do with it.

You cannot have good business unless the standard of value is fixed and immutable, and every business man knows it. If we are to adopt the silver standard, we are to make an experiment, but it is not an unknown experiment. It has been tried for 2,000 years—yes, for 3,000 years. It has been tried under all conditions, in all countries, with all civilizations and all kinds of people, and wherever there was a fluctuating standard of value there was also a paralysis of business or destruction of business and employment. Our friend who is running on the Chicago platform—on a silver and Populistic platform, a platform full of holes and supported with wind—is constantly proclaiming that he does not understand what people mean by confidence and lack of confidence. He is constantly proclaiming capital against labor and the employee against the employer. Well, what is capital and labor but mutual confidence in each other and mutual assistance to each other? Neither can live without the other, any more than can the head get along without the stomach. My head works because my digestion is always good.

This issue, as Mr. Bryan says, is perfectly plain. There is no mystery about it. Any man or woman can understand it. No man is going to lend his money unless he knows he is going to get

it back, nor will he put it in enterprises unless he knows he will make money by it. He will not manufacture goods unless he knows he will have a market for those goods, and out of the money he receives for the goods he has to pay for the raw material and for the manufacture of the goods. Now, where you have a good, sound currency, and you have a standard of value good all over the world, where the dollar is good for 100 cents anywhere, then the manufacturer knows what he is about. He can calculate what the market will want, what his constituents will take and the public consume, and on that calculation he can base how much he can sell and distribute to the community. When these conditions exist, we can have good times. Then the commercial traveler finds himself received by the merchant with open arms. Then he walks around the town and regards himself as a sort of public benefactor, and he goes down to the hotel at night, and the entire hotel knows that he is there.

When he goes into a town now and goes into a store, he must bear a letter of introduction and a certificate of character. He goes in during the hottest day in the week with a summer suit on, but when he gets in there he feels sorry that he had not brought his fur coat with him. Now, we all of us are working as best we can primarily for ourselves and families, in the belief that what promotes the best good of the family promotes the best good of the State and country. We hear so much in these days under this constitution which begins, "We, the people," of the masses and classes and employees and employers. This antagonism, what is it? I have been on the stump for 30 years, and I have never discussed that question before, but when a candidate for the Presidency of the United States raises such a question and creates conditions which do not exist it becomes necessary to discuss the question for a moment. What is capital, that it should be antagonized and hated? Capital is primarily money which must go in the building of the railroad or factory or store, or must go into some enterprise, before there is employment for the brains and hands when brains and hands are the only capital that these men have. If the conditions are such that money can confidently be invested in a country like this, it is active. Money dead is like brains and hands dead—it yields nothing. But let money be active and you have touched the life blood of this nation. If it is constructing railroads and big build-

ings, starting mines, factories, mills and furnaces, the architect has his capital, and it is wanted; the designer and builders have their capital, and it is wanted; the artisan has his capital, and it is wanted; the journalist has his capital, and it is wanted; the commercial traveler has his capital, and it is wanted. And this universal distribution of capital is what makes good business, prosperity and happiness for the families of the United States. Yet Mr. Bryan in his Labor Day speech says there are two great classes in this country, the toiling masses and their oppressors, who do not belong to the toiling masses.

According to this idea, the masses are only the people who work with their hands. But what becomes of the men who work with their brains? These reporters here, according to Mr. Bryan, are every one of them monopolistic oppressors, and the editors who will revise their work are oppressors of the toiling masses, as are the commercial travelers, who have nothing but their legs and brains. According, again, to Mr. Bryan, the farmer is one of the toiling masses until he gets a hired man alongside of him. Then he becomes one of the oppressors, and the hired man must cut his throat if he can. There are commercial travelers who earn salaries of $100 and $200, perhaps $1,000 and $2,000 a month in rare instances. Well, that last fellow is not here, but that is what he told me. Now, is there to be deadly enmity between the man who gets $100 and the man who gets $200, $300 or $500? No, that is not the principle of American liberty. The principle of American liberty is that we have the same world before us, with equal opportunities for every man to rise, and the man who gets $100 is hustling to get the place and custom of the $500 man. I would rather die under that principle than live in the absolute stagnation of a mud puddle, with everybody covered with the same amount of mud and making the same little bit of exertion to get out of it.

Now, in his Labor Day speech Mr. Bryan said, "Don't let your employer inspect your ballot?" I say also don't let your employer inspect your ballot, and I don't believe it is done. Take the New York Central Railroad, for instance. We have 30,000 men, and it is well known to every one of them that the track walker has the same political privileges as the president. I have been president of that railroad for eleven years and have been connected with it for twenty-nine years, and during that time I

have taken my privilege as a citizen to stand on the platform and tell my fellow workmen what I believe is best for the country, and they believe it or not, just as they think fit. And of the 30,000 men on the New York Central it is safe to say that two-thirds have voted the Democratic ticket. Every one knows it, and every politician can tell Mr. Bryan that there is not one word of truth in this attempt to bulldoze employees.

Four years ago I made a speech, and next morning, happening to meet a switchman whom I knew very well, I said to him, "Jerry, how are you going to vote?" Jerry replied, "Well, I am going to vote against you this year." The other day I met Jerry again, and I said to him, "Jerry, how has your experiment come out?" And then he answered, "Well, boss, I am wid ye this year." That is the kind of coercion that we use, and while two-thirds of the employees—two-thirds of my fellow workmen, for we are all on the pay roll of the New York Central—voted for Cleveland in 1892, I venture to say that not one who voted for Harrison will fail to vote for McKinley. I venture to say of the balance, from actual knowledge, that 90 per cent. are following Flower, Whitney and Coudert, and are not following Sulzer and Sheehan.

Now, if we are to have classes and masses, we have two candidates for the Presidency. Bryan and McKinley are both lawyers, but as a lawyer McKinley outclasses Bryan. They are both orators, but while one can fill a hall the other can empty it. Therefore McKinley outclasses Bryan as an orator. They have both been members of Congress, but while one did his best for free trade and a debased currency the other did his best for protection and sound currency. Therefore McKinley outclasses Bryan as a statesman and a patriot, and he legislated for the best interests of the country. McKinley does belong to a class, a privileged class, and a highly privileged class in a free country or any other country. When a young man, struggling by teaching to educate himself for his profession, the flag was fired on, he shouldered his musket and marched to the war and became one of the privileged class who offered their lives—all that they had—for their country.

CORNER-STONE OF RICHMOND BOROUGH

SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF RICHMOND BOROUGH (GREATER NEW YORK) HALL, AT ST. GEORGE, STATEN ISLAND, MAY 21, 1904.

FELLOW CITIZENS: Two hundred and ninety-five years ago the beauties of this island were revealed to European eyes. On the 11th of September, 1609, Hendrik Hudson, in the *Half Moon,* sailed up this Harbor. I doubt if any explorer was ever more impressed by the possibilities spread before him than the veteran navigator when, having passed Sandy Hook and the Lower Bay, he anchored opposite the spot where we now are. Having discovered that it was an island, he named it Staaten Eylandt, which means the island of the States of Holland, and we have anglicized it into Staten Island. After their long and weary voyage, this lovely spot, which is at its best in September, must have appeared to these Dutch sailors a paradise. They thought they were placing the choicest jewel in the crown of their dearly loved native land.

Eleven years afterward the *Mayflower* sailed into Plymouth Harbor with the Pilgrim Fathers. History, eloquence and poetry have ascribed to them and their settlements the largest share in the liberty and growth of the United States. But the Dutch, famed for their modesty, and never given to exploiting their deeds, had been for a decade engaged in commerce, trade and agriculture at this port, and enjoying themselves and granting to others that civil and religious liberty which existed at that period only in Holland.

In conceding to the Dutch full credit for their contributions to the institutions of our country, it is not necessary to depreciate the merit which belongs to the Pilgrim Fathers. For more than one hundred and fifty years the Dutch settlers upon this island led the lives of the thrifty people from whom they sprang. This was pre-eminently a settlement of homes where the virtues of religion, filial devotion, family affection, pure living and good citizenship were the habit of the people. They were out of the

line of marching armies and contending hosts and suffered little, if at all, during the trying times of the Revolutionary War. They inherited the resentment of their ancestors because New York had been conquered by the English and transferred from the Hollandish to the British flag.

They contributed their quota to the Continental Army but during the long occupancy of New York City by the British, the farmers here, free from the raids which devastated Westchester, were traders in the ready market which the city offered. The British officers passed their leisure in hunting over these hills, where there was no enemy and plenty of game, while the cross-road inns were the scenes of many a brilliant revelry as the fair daughters of the island danced and flirted with their brilliantly uniformed partners.

A most interesting book could be written upon the trifling things which have changed the course of history. From the time when the cackling geese saved Rome down to our own day the course of empire has been staid or changed, the policies of governments altered and the loftiest stations filled because of events in themselves of little or no moment. Whether Staten Island should cast its destinies with New York or become a part of New Jersey was decided in a novel manner. The Duke of York, who had the authority, decreed that if a boat could sail around the island in twenty-four hours it should belong to New York, but if it took more time it should go to New Jersey.

A patriotic Staten Islander, Capt. Christopher Billop, in the sloop *Bentley,* undertook to keep his home and friends connected with the larger destinies which were forecasted for the future Empire State. He accomplished the voyage within the allotted time, and Staten Island was joined to New York. It has ever since been the gateway of the continent. It has felt the influence of the great city's growth and the prestige of the greater State. It is to-day, as the result of gallant Captain Billop's successful navigation an independent borough of the second, and soon to be the first city of the world. If he had failed in his enterprise this corner-stone would never have been laid, nor the structure destined for this spot ever erected. Under some other name the island would have become a county of New Jersey. Instead of the executive and imperial functions which we are celebrating here, it might be rent with factional strife for a place

for one of its citizens on the State Board of New Jersey, whose functions are to fight the mosquito.

Everyone here and every inhabitant of Richmond County should be grateful to the Providence which filled the sails of the *Bentley,* to the designer who made her a model for future victories of American yachts, and to the captain who so skilfully sailed her upon the voyage, as important to the destinies of the people of this island as the race of Atalanta to her. When you begin to erect statues to your famous men and to those who deserved most of their country, upon your highest promontory in the chief place of honor should stand the figure of the savior of the island, Capt. Christopher Billop.

Staten Islanders have rarely strayed from home. They have been famous for clinging to this spot which they love so well, and, if circumstances have ever led them abroad, they return to pass here the evening of their lives. I have met Staten Islanders who have become successful in various walks of life, whom circumstances have compelled to live far away, and their tales and conversation were always reminiscent of the delights of the early days when they roamed over these hills, bathed in these surrounding waters, and breathed this health-giving air.

One captain of industry, the foremost of his time, gave enduring fame to the possibilities of the Dutch training of this neighborhood. The wonderful material and industrial triumphs of a few Americans are a source of ceaseless wonder and speculation, but Commodore Vanderbilt as a boy indicated the qualities which were to make him a leader of men and a master of enterprises. His mother promised him $100 if he would perform a certain task. He called about him the boys of his own age and told them that if the work was done within the time he would have the funds to buy a boat and would give free rides to the city of New York.

They did the work, he did the managing, received the $100 and bought the boat. How many trips he gave them history does not record, and they could hardly be reckoned among that numerous and most importunate class of to-day known as pass fiends. Here you see the germ of a captain of industry. His initiative, will power, and talent for command made the lesser-gifted so work for him that with his prosperity and far-sighted grasp of the public necessities. his boat became a sloop and his

sloop became a steamboat. Earlier than any he grasped the possibilities and the profits there were in transportation and the carrying trade. From the steamboat he went upon the ocean and soon had a fleet of steamships. Before any he saw that the railroad was to supersede in a large degree travel and commerce on the water, and he became the railway king of the United States.

While from this beginning and with rare talent he amassed the largest fortune at the time of his death possessed by anybody in the world, yet every dollar of it during his life was active in enterprises which increased the area and opportunities for employment, which opened for development new territories and which added proportionately to the wealth of people and communities, which, but for him, might have been long without the facilities supplied by his masterful business genius.

We cannot help, at this point of departure from old traditions, habits and government, wondering what would be their feelings if the graves in the old cemetery at New Dorp should give up their early occupants for our celebration, and these farmer and fisher folk of the ancient days, reincarnated, be permitted to join this assemblage. There would be nothing in the surroundings to remind them of the farms and forests where they passed happy days. In the distance would be the skyscrapers of the great city. They could see the outlines of the Brooklyn Bridge, with its unequaled span crossing the East River. In the place of the shallops of their time they would be amazed at the mighty steamships continually passing in and out of the port, the trolley car rushing by would frighten them, and the automobile with its speed and its odor would be to these primitive and pious folk the vehicle of the devil, and the chauffeur in his uniform and glasses, the evil one himself. From the wild, nerve-racking and brain-splitting strenuosities of the present, these spirits would pray to be led away again into the peaceful graves at New Dorp to await the call of the great trumpet summoning them to a heaven where the whistle never screeches, the trolley never runs, and the perils of the automobile are unknown. I remember, as illustrating the mind of a former generation, that when an endowment was given to a church the donor wished it to be put in trust with one of our strong institutions and the income only allowed to the church. One of the trustees said to him:

"If all this money is to be invested that way in a soulless corporation, where does the Lord get His share?"

But, friends, we are of to-day. We may not live in a better, but we do live in a larger and more important way in a month than did these ancestors of ours in a lifetime. The world of which they knew nothing, with its activities and enterprises, with its science and development, with its diplomacy and politics, with its battles and sieges, is spread before us like a panorama, morning and evening. We rejoice that we live in and are a part of the land which is the freest, the fullest of happy homes and presents the greatest possibilities for its people of any upon earth; but we are here to celebrate more particularly the political union of Staten Island with New York.

Public opinion was about equally divided at the time of the creation of the greater city as to its expediency, but to-day we are united in our pride and confidence in the metropolis. The attraction of gravitation is a law as inexorable, spiritually and industrially, as it is in its application to matter. Greater New York has aroused a civic pride which before was singularly lacking.

Our supremacy, commercially and financially; our superior advantages for capital and labor, our leading place in manufactures, our population surpassing that of all cities of the world but one, draw to this center the wealth, genius, art, letters, scholarships and culture which are destined to make New York in every respect the foremost city of the world. This building is the principal sign that Staten Island is a part of this mighty and powerful whole. Your unequaled location will lead to growth and progress here as little dreamed of now as were the developments of to-day by your citizens of a hundred years ago.

A great city like New York is dependent upon good government. Its government will be just what its citizens want. There may be periods when it will degenerate and become inefficient or corrupt. But I think no one who has closely studied the question can doubt that there is a constantly rising intelligent patriotism and civic pride in this vast electorate. There is a population within the boundaries of New York larger than twelve States which have twenty-four seats in the United States Senate. It was a wise thought in the framers of the charter to put our Government upon the federal idea. A trial of the federal sys-

tem for over a hundred years in our Republic has triumphantly vindicated the wisdom of our fathers.

While the power in the Central Government which they feared has increased beyond any idea even of Hamilton, yet the States and the functions they exercise have grown proportionately. The secret of successful government under this system is in giving in matters which pertain to localities the largest measure of home rule. State Legislatures to-day deal with problems and properties far beyond those exercised by the Federal Government a half century ago. In great aggregations of populations where there is so little of the neighborhood and individual contact which made the township a power and a model, responsibility should be concentrated.

There ought to be greater authority given to the borough presidents in local appointments and the details of administration within borough limits. The neighborhood which elects the borough president and the people who know him should be able to call him to account for bad government and reward him for good.

In a city so vast and growing so rapidly as New York there should be a concurrent growth of the federal idea and of home rule. Publicity and responsibility are our safety.

I congratulate you, fellow citizens, upon the auspicious event which made you part of Greater New York. I congratulate you upon this municipal building which is to be the center of your civic life and government. Of all the boroughs none has a greater promise for the future in everything which makes for the prosperity and happiness of a community than this Borough of Richmond.

ASSOCIATION OF FLOUR MANUFACTURERS

SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FLOUR MANUFACTURERS, AT NIAGARA FALLS, JUNE 9, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: Your pursuit is one of the most practical and prosaic, and yet has originated more poetry than any other. Ballads and songs which have become the best part of the memories of poets, celebrate the beauty, kindness and innocence of the miller's daughter. She has inspired the muse of the most famous names in literature. There is something in the romantic location and associations of the old mill which strikes the fancy and stirs the imagination. It must necessarily be upon a water-course, and the stream generally meanders among picturesque surroundings. Scenery and setting have placed the miller's daughter in more favorable light than her sisters, whose fathers are not so well located. The miller himself has received undue praise for the possession of virtues either more or better than his fellow citizens. The flour and meal which cover his clothes and hat and face are supposed to typify a condition of internal integrity belonging to no other mortals. It was this miller of the early day who, in a great case, enabled a great lawyer and a great judge to decide a question of treason on the shortest argument and briefest decision in history. This Pennsylvania miller followed his Quaker training and instincts, and harbored fugitive slaves on their way to Canada and freedom. He was arrested and placed on trial for his life under the fugitive slave law on the charge of waging war against the United States. The Government presented voluminous testimony and the United States district attorney exhausted his eloquence. Thaddeus Stevens, who appeared for the miller, simply said, "I submit to the court whether it is possible for the miller without weapons other than the machinery of his mill, handling meal bags and covered with flour, to be waging war against the United States." The miller was acquitted and ground grain and aided fugitive slaves until slavery was abolished.

But, gentlemen, few of you are that kind of a miller. I fear

he has been largely lost in the great combinations incident to our times and necessary in the conditions of industries all over the world. You represent one of the great elements of American production and exportation. Every question which affects cost and markets at home or abroad comes close to you. The world wonders at the rapidity of American development, the variety of its industries, the volumes of its production, the extent of the home market and the distribution around the world. Two words lie at the base of this marvelous fabric—institutions and opportunity; institutions which rest upon the individual and not upon the mass, promoting independence and initiative, and which liberate and energize every faculty man possesses in a country of boundless resources in undeveloped wealth. Other lands have been equally blessed in fertile soils, navigable rivers, genial climates, mines and forests. All Latin America has possessed these and an equal number of years of settlement. There are parts of Asia where for ages empires have flourished and decayed which had our physical advantages. We have illustrated the benefits of free government; we have followed the brief charter, which originated in the cabin of the *Mayflower,* of just and equal laws, and we have escaped the paralysis of paternalism by the genius of individualism.

A more striking example than Mexico and South America, with the uncertainty of their governments, or of Asia, with none, is the Australian confederation. The hundred years of our greatest growth have also been the chief part of the period of their settlement and activities. Their area is larger than ours and they have every blessing of soil and climate. They have the same race and language and the same essentials of civil and religious liberty, a free press and free speech and universal suffrage. While we settled the spirit of our institutions at the beginning and our Constitution has remained practically unchanged as originally written, they have been adopting new methods year by year. We left man free to work out his own salvation according to his gifts and character, and the individual thus freed has experimented with marvelous success on farms and factories, mines, mills, furnaces and transportation, in schools and colleges, in every form of materialism and the highest results of education. The Australian commonwealth has been experimenting on how to make the Government support its citizens. Railroads,

telegraphs and public utilities of every kind are owned and operated by the Government. The Government puts its hand into the machinery of industrial operations and development. Governments naturally lack initiative. They supply existing needs, but do not create conditions which develop new countries and provide for increasing populations. The result is that while the United States in a hundred years with an area of 2,970,230 square miles (excluding Alaska) has a population of 80,000,000, imports and exports amounting to $2,400,000,000, revenues of $694,000,000, 200,000 miles of railways and an internal commerce of $22,000,000,000, a commerce greater than that of the exports and imports of all the countries of the world, Australia, under experimental paternalism, in an area of 2,972,573 square miles, has a population of only 3,771,715, 12,000 miles of railways and in all that constitutes a great developing and advancing people is far behind the single State of New York. While in the United States, except in rare periods of panic, less than one per cent. of the wage earners are ever out of employment, it is the complaint of Australia that there is little occupation or opportunity for its young men.

Liberty and initiative have been the watchwords of American progress. With unprecedented development have come difficult problems, but happily each generation has successfully solved its own. The American people, impatient to work out as speedily as possible their continental destiny, have preferred stimulation to stagnation. They have built railroads far in advance of profits and awaited populations and development. They have built up industries through processes of trial and failure where the financiers have been veritably the martyrs whose blood was the seed of prosperity. The great American desert of our youth is becoming the most fertile portion of the country through irrigation. The mirage which often led travelers astray and to their death is now the prosaic canal, turning alkali plains into farms from which are gathered several crops a year. Historical students derided the American experiment and claimed that it could never survive with crowded populations. They held that there must be a permanently trained and specially favored class of military leaders, otherwise the preservation of law and order and defense of the country would be inadequate. But the conduct of our citizens in trying emergencies, and our volunteer army,

with men of thought and education carrying the musket and men from the ranks elected to command, have abundantly proved the fallacy of these predictions. Even Macaulay in his famous letter to the biographer of Jefferson, gave us less than a century to reach the position where, being without a strong Government and standing army, hungry multitudes would produce anarchy. Our most difficult problem has been to compete with the highly organized industrial nations of the old world, with their cheap labor, and still keep the standard of American wages upon a scale which would enable workingmen to live as self respecting American citizens ought. We pay double the wages which prevail in these countries and yet are invading their markets.

Our school system, which not only invites but compels universal education, gives to every occupation superior intelligence, and our initiative genius has constantly improved the machinery of manufacture. Without machinery and the common school we never could have reached our present position or accomplished our industrial triumphs. With the needs of increasing populations there must be ever increasing production, and to maintain past and present conditions, ever widening markets. The conservatism of Great Britain and continental countries retains the obsolete machinery, while the enterprise and initiative of America throws away the new of yesterday if better has been produced to-day. The result is that the efficiency of the American workshop is two-thirds more than the German and nearly twice that of the British. Our exports this year, both agricultural and manufacturing, are much greater than ever before in our history and the balance of trade in our favor is to add to the three billions which already stand to our credit upon the books. American diplomacy is winning gratifying triumphs in opening new doors for American enterprise and productions. Our dangers are wholly within ourselves. We have received the warning of experts in the east and in South America that we must change our methods if we would distance our competitors. The speculators in the necessaries of life have done more to create competitors in foreign lands than all other agencies combined. They failed in corn because of its volume, but when they cornered wheat some years ago they produced a panic in Great Britain, which buys most of her food from abroad. The result was that British capital and enterprise went to Argentina, Canada, Russia,

India and Egypt, to make Great Britain independent of the United States. Except for the wonderful increase in the demand of our home market the results would have been disastrous to the wheat growers and millers of the United States. The recent corner in cotton with its spectacular fortunes made and lost, shut down the mills and threw out of employment the workmen of Lancashire and New England, and now British capital and parliamentary commissions are exploring the possibilities of Africa and Asia for cotton independence from the United States. I know of no laws which can check this tendency. Patriotism will not prevent it. The capital and greed of a few men are so great that any product can be put temporarily up to such abnormal prices as to ruin manufacturers and dealers. The evil can be checked and lessened by you, gentlemen, with the power to inflict such losses that men of capital will hesitate long before risking it in a gamble whose hazards and perils are so imminent.

Our Government needs a navy which shall protect our citizens in every land and our commerce upon every sea. Our weakness commercially is on the ocean. If we are to be the granary and the workshop, and our men of enterprise the merchants and bankers of the world, we must have a mercantile marine sailing under the American flag. There may be disputes about processes, but any process is cheap and patriotic which enables American products to be carried in American bottoms and American ships to be the advance agents in the opening markets all round the globe.

Our financiers tell us that we are in the midst of a financial and industrial depression. Popular memories are proverbially short. Compared with the depression from 1894 to 1897 this one is of the microscopic grade. The country is simply resting after its wild debauch of promotion and speculation. That it suffers no more and feels no worse is a fine tribute to its unimpaired vigor and constitution. The Stock Exchange may only show one-tenth as many shares dealt in daily as for the past three years, and market values of stocks may have shrunk to bankrupt figures, but the efficiency and capacity of the plants of the great industrial organizations have been enormously increased and the equipment of the railroads for the care and carriage of freight nearly doubled. The year 1900 was the banner year for exports of manufactures, amounting to $433,851,756,

but in this year of so-called depression they will reach $450,000,000. We will export this year, in round numbers, $1,278,000,000, in value from our farms, mills, mines and factories as against $774,000,000 ten years ago. Imports have fallen off so that there will be an increased balance of trade in our favor over the startling figures since 1896. New wealth will be created this year from farms and industries, to be added to the stream from abroad, to stimulate our markets and energize our exchanges. We show our financial health by sending abroad $40,000,000 in gold to pay for the Panama Canal, and its loss is not felt in the price of money or the facilities of the banks. When the waiting which always accompanies a presidential election is over, the enormous accumulations which are the despair of the money lenders and the prosperity of the savings banks will be utilized by the people, made wiser by costly experience, in new enterprises and old, which enlarge the areas of general enjoyment, employment and prosperity.

REVIEW OF SEVENTH REGIMENT

SPEECH AT THE REVIEW OF THE SEVENTH REGIMENT, NATIONAL GUARD OF NEW YORK, IN ITS ARMORY, APRIL 15, 1903.

COLONEL APPLETON—Gentlemen: I heartily welcome you to our Seventh Regiment Armory. I ask you all to join me in the toast of the evening, "The Hon. Chauncey M. Depew."

COLONEL APPLETON, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE SEVENTH: It gives me great pleasure to be here to-night. It is an honor to have the opportunity of reviewing the regiment under circumstances which give me the privilege of seeing you in your own armory.

We lead a strenuous life when we become veterans like me. I delivered a speech yesterday at a wedding breakfast at Newport, a speech to-day in the Assembly at Albany, and here I am.

I love old associations and I especially admire organizations which have heredity. I believe in old colleges, old churches and in all those things which have behind them years of good service for humanity or the country. Their history and presence are a liberal education for those who come after. No new organization can have the spirit of or be as useful as one which has traditions and heredity, and in which son has succeeded father for successive generations, as is the case in the Seventh Regiment of the State of New York.

The incident which Colonel Appleton has related has been on my conscience to tell ever since it occurred. I do not know of an instance of greater bravery under injustice than the silence of the Seventh Regiment in the position in which it was placed by public sentiment because of an alleged refusal to enlist during the Spanish-American War. It declined, of course, to break up its organization and go as individuals, which was its only alternative. When the storm of indignation arose Colonel Appleton came to me and asked me to present the case to the President of the United States. I went to Washington with General Fitzgerald and we spent the evening with the President, the Secretary of War, and the General of the Army. We represented the Seventh

Regiment as an organization ready and willing to go anywhere and at a moment's notice if the President asked it. President McKinley stated the difficulties of the situation, which were that under his call he could not accept the regiment as a whole. The story could not be told at the time because the exigencies of war did not permit its secrets to be revealed.

I went over the next day and had a conversation with my old friend, General Alger, Secretary of War, another misunderstood and misrepresented but faithful official. He grasped the situation at once. He said to me: "Some time before this war closes there will be an opportunity for the Seventh Regiment to be vindicated in a way which will redound to its honor." Shortly afterwards he telegraphed me to come to Washington, and he said: "The War Board is contemplating a rush upon Havana. We wish to close this war up suddenly. There are a hundred and twenty thousand Spanish troops behind the fortifications of Havana, the flower of the Spanish Army. We believe the city can be taken and the war ended if we can get fifty thousand of the right kind of trained American soldiers for the purpose of making that assault. Of course it must be understood that the assault is desperate, the casualties will be many; the peril must not be minimized. The opportunity has now come for the Seventh Regiment; the service will not be long, but it will be the most dangerous and glorious for which soldiers can volunteer."

I came back to New York and sent for Colonel Appleton. He called upon me with some members of his staff, and I told him what the purpose of the Government was and the message of General Alger. The next day Colonel Appleton gave me to be sent to the President the message which he has read to you, which was that the Seventh would on one day's notice join the Army for an assault upon Havana, and would march to the front with one thousand and fifty men.

Victories which came so rapidly at Santiago and Manila, both on sea and land, prevented the carrying out of this scheme of the Government. But the situation was such that our mouths were closed and nothing could be said while this flood of denunciation, abuse and ridicule was being poured upon the Seventh Regiment. I venture to say that there never has been in the history of this country at any time a call made upon a regiment of the National Guard, which could, if it pleased, decline or accept the peril, where

that was so immediate and so great and the response so sudden and enthusiastic as the answer of this regiment that they would drop everything and march upon Havana.

Most of the gentlemen here remember little of the Civil War. Many of them were not then born. Happily it is forgotten. It was a fraternal strife. The Republic is again united. Brotherhood prevails everywhere. We bury rapidly, day by day, all memory, all recollection of the struggle so far as it may be considered a war of enemies; but we can never forget the men who responded to the call to defend the flag, to sustain the Union and protect the capital and who saved the Government.

The conditions which existed in 1861 no one can now grasp. We had been at peace for so many years that our people did not know what war was. There had been no war since 1812, except the one with Mexico, and that was a mere incident in which scarcely enough of our citizens were engaged to have it felt anywhere. Here, however, suddenly in every hamlet in the country on each side of the Mason and Dixon Line they awoke to the fact that a desperate struggle was to take place among Americans for the maintenance of the Union on the one side and for its destruction on the other side, and that the debate of a hundred years between centralization and State rights, freedom and slavery, was to be fought out on the battlefield. The nation woke up to the fact that this was to be the bloodiest war of modern times, and that enlistment in it meant the improbability of the soldier ever returning to his home. It was under that feeling that a call was made by the President of the United States upon the Seventh Regiment to go to Washington to defend the capital, which at that time was threatened, because the Confederacy had its soldiers in the field sooner than the Union.

When it was announced that the Seventh Regiment had accepted the call and was to march with full ranks, people hurried here from all over the North to see and cheer the departure of that regiment. I have been through a great many exciting scenes in my life. I have been in contact several times with those intense, overwhelming, uncontrollable emotions when it seems almost impossible for any one to survive the excitement of the occasion, but I have never before or since seen, or felt what occurred when the Seventh Regiment marched that day down Broadway. Every place of vantage was filled with men and

women as the regiment came along. In the side streets were carriages in which were the wives, sisters and sweethearts of the officers and the soldiers of the Seventh. One would see a handkerchief in the air, then it would disappear, then there would be a woman lying at the bottom of the carriage or on the sidewalk or on the roadway. There were cheers at first; then there was silence. Feeling was too intense for noise. All around me I saw men weeping as only men can weep under great agitation. I saw men faint on the sidewalk and in the rooms. Every one felt that was war and knew just what it meant. But while there was this emotion everywhere, in the crowds from the roofs down to the street, and in the masses ranged along the roadway, there was not a quiver in the ranks of the marching men. All were friends or relatives who were going to the defence of the capital of the nation and to the salvation of the union of these States.

Colonel Appleton and gentlemen, it is a proud thing for the State of New York to have a regiment whose fame for its efficiency in drill, for its conduct everywhere, at home and abroad, for its action on all occasions when soldierly conduct was required, has placed it in the front rank of voluntary military organizations. All over Europe when I travel and meet military men, the first question is not in regard to our regular Army, which they know is so small, though they know it is efficient. Their inquiry is: "What would happen in time of a great war when your regular Army is so small as it has been up to a recent period?" I have said: "But we have the national guard, and behind that national guard there are millions who would volunteer as they did in 1861 at the call of the country." Then the question always has been, "But have you any duplicate of the Seventh Regiment? If your other regiments and your millions of volunteers are equal to your Seventh then we haven't any other question to ask. We have been in its armory, we have seen it under conditions where a soldier knows what a soldier is and if your people are up to the standard of the Seventh you can conquer the world."

Now, gentlemen, I trust that the facts which have been narrated here to-night for the first time may become the common property of the country and go into the history of the Spanish-American War.

I have been delighted to see here, as marking the spirit of this

regiment, still in the ranks, still as enthusiastic as boys, privates who have been satisfied to remain in the ranks and who received medals this evening for a service of twenty-five years and ten years. And here are twenty-five year veterans, and General Fitzgerald has been in the service of this regiment over sixty years. To look at him you wouldn't believe it, but I have received the record from your Colonel and the confession from himself. He was four years in the Army during the Civil War and each year of such service counts for five. Add that to the forty years since he enlisted in the Seventh and here is a man who has been sixty years in the regiment and still goes fishing.

Coming over from Washington after the sudden defeat and sinking of the powerful fleet of Cervera, Joe Jefferson, the most genial, witty and charming of men, who was coming from a professional engagement at the capital, said to me, "Do you know how it happened that the Spanish fleet, being a strong one, should have been sunk in such a short time while our ships were not injured? Do you know how it happened?" I said, "No." He said, "Well, an actor can tell you. They had not rehearsed."

That charge cannot be brought against the Seventh. It has been rehearsing for nearly one hundred years. The veteran father retires, and his son takes his place, but he gets the spirit at home and had it long before he enlisted. He has been brought up to a strenuous life. The two hundred men of the Seventh who became officers in the Spanish-American War proved that the Seventh had rehearsed. The six hundred men of the Seventh who became officers in the Civil War showed that the Seventh had rehearsed. It is because the Seventh has been rehearsing for a century that we, the guests, had the opportunity of seeing a drill here to-night, which I believe could not be duplicated anywhere. It is because the Seventh Regiment rehearses that its members are models of the citizen-soldier supporting himself by his vocation, asking no help from the country, the State or the city, giving his days and evenings as he can to his training as a soldier, and when the country, or the city, or public order is in danger, dropping his business and responding to the order to march.

SOUTH CAROLINA EXPOSITION

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA INTER-STATE AND WEST-INDIAN EXPOSITION, AT CHARLESTON, S. C., DECEMBER 2, 1901.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This exhibition is the triumph of revolution and evolution. There has been no period since the Colony of South Carolina adopted the theoretical but impracticable charter prepared by the great philosopher, John Locke, in 1674, down to the Treaty of Paris with Spain in 1899, when this happily conceived enterprise was possible until now. It is an omen of future development and prosperity for Charleston that the moment its citizens saw the time had come they entered upon this beneficent work with patriotism, courage and confidence. It required nearly a century and a half of struggle and preparation before there existed an industrial and manufacturing South in the United States, and Spanish Islands in the Caribbean Sea free and independent to meet upon the common ground of united welfare and reciprocal benefits.

The Huguenot settlement was of incalculable influence upon the destiny of this State and its sister commonwealths. They differed from all the colonists of the seventeenth century. At a time when people were not safe except under the protection of a strong government, these exiles had neither home nor country. They could not return to their own, and their King denied them protection in foreign lands. With all past ties severed, they became a loyal part of every community in which they settled. They brought to their new homes an intense love for religious liberty, education, refinement, domestic virtues, skill in all the handicraft of the age and a lofty spirit and chivalric courage. They gave in larger measure than existed elsewhere sentiment and imagination to the character and characteristics of these settlements. With this strain in the vigorous and aggressive Saxon and Celtic stock, South Carolina became naturally a leader in the stirring movements of the century, in those political battles which were fraught with such momentous consequences and in

the decisive action which risked everything on the hazards of war. So, now when opportunity offers, she comes again to the front in this superb effort for the industrial and commercial prosperity of the South.

Before the Civil War the South was purely agricultural and had none of that varied production necessary to the expanding interchanges of commerce, but now she is rapidly developing her unequaled natural resources and entering with vigor and success the field of domestic and foreign competition. The founders of the Republic failed to make clear in their Constitution the fundamental principles of our Government, and left for posterity the solution of the crucial problems of our national existence. Until these questions were settled the United States had no peace within its borders and no place or power in the family of nations. Environment and industries created the hostile schools of centralization and state sovereignty, which, after seventy-three years of high debate, submitted their differences to the arbitrament of arms.

While the growth of such a country as ours, with so enterprising a population, could not be stopped, yet its healthy and proportionate development was always dependent upon the settlement of the supreme question whether our Republic was a nation or a compact between sovereign States. Not only our progress, our position among nations, our existence as a great power and our peace, were in peril, but the hopes of humanity all over the world were endangered by the contest. The great debate was carried on by two of the most remarkable intelligences and ablest statesmen of this or any other country—John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster. Hamilton could never have brought to the support of his idea the majestic eloquence of Webster, and Jefferson could not have defended and expounded his opinion with the logical acumen and creative and luminous genius of Calhoun. Thousands gave their lives on bloody battlefields on one side or the other for the principles for which these giants contended. To-day we can all calmly, without prejudice and without passion, philosophically review the past, and in the glorious fruition of the present devoutly thank God that we are one people, under one Government, and following one flag.

In 1866, having been appointed United States Minister to Japan, I made an exhaustive study of that country. It had the

feudal institutions of the Middle Ages. The great lords with their armed retainers both supported and intimidated the throne. Its soldiers fought in armor, and its fleet had not progressed beyond the galley and the caravel. Contact with Western civilization led to such rapid adoption of the triumphs of the nineteenth century that in thirty-five years Japan had a constitutional monarchy and representative parliament, an army as effective as Germany and a fleet which made her one of the naval powers of the world. This marvelous transformation was accompanied by railroads, telegraphs, telephones, electric lights, and tramways, schools and colleges, and a free press. Japan has apparently attained in a third of a century the results which six hundred years of fearful struggles had won for Europe. But Japan had a civilization older than that of the Continent, the accumulated wealth of ages, a literature which antedated movable types, and a homogeneous people skilled in agriculture, manufactures and the arts. With her it was rather an adaptation than an evolution or revolution.

The Southern States in 1866 were facing a series of disasters and calamities unparalleled in modern times. Their wealth was destroyed, their working capital lost, their farms devastated, their cities and villages in ruins, and they were without manufactures or industries. The problem of adjusting to their political, social and economic conditions a suddenly emancipated slave population of nearly equal numbers, which had been granted every civil right, including suffrage, demanded immediate attention. The unconquerable and invincible grit and pluck of the American were never more splendidly illustrated. Orderly government has been established, education fostered, agriculture revived, railroads constructed, mines opened, new industries builded and the riches and resources of the land brought out. The farm wealth has grown from a nominal to a real value of three thousand millions of dollars. In the place of no manufacturing industries, a thousand millions of dollars have built and equipped mills, factories and furnaces, whose annual output is one thousand five hundred millions, and rapidly increasing. The New South, regenerated and disenthralled, contributed in 1900 to the wealth and prosperity of our country two thousand five hundred millions of tons of iron, forty million tons of coal, seven hundred and thirty-six million bushels of grain, and eleven million

two hundred and seventy-four thousand bales of cotton. The gold and silver and precious stones, whose quest brought Columbus across the ocean and inspired the adventures of De Leon and De Soto, become the commonplaces of commerce, compared with the present reality and future possibilities of this annual fruitage of a territory blessed with exhaustless treasures in fields, mines and water power, which are owned and controlled by people who have displayed the genius and energy, the initiative and wise working which have produced these marvelous results.

Electricity and steam, the instantaneous circling of the globe with news, and rapidity in transportation have made one market for all the world. Reduction of cost and superiority of workmanship are the factors of modern competition. Building the cotton mill beside the cotton fields and the furnace and steel factories by the ore and coal are redistributing industrial centers. Upon these lines, and by the application of these principles, the South, from no place in 1866, has come to the front in the production of iron and coal, and while New England and the Western States have practically reached the profitable limit and are standing still in the expansion of the manufacture of cotton goods, there has been the phenomenal increase of one million three hundred and seven thousand spindles during the year 1900 in the Carolinas and their neighboring commonwealths. Capital and enterprise, which are utilizing wood for its varied purposes—industrial, domestic and commercial—are converting the vast pine forests of this rich territory into settlements of thrift, productiveness and happiness. Apart from the broader conception of its creation, this Exhibition would worthily justify its existence as a celebration of the most wonderful contribution to the most remarkable of centuries. Surely, nothing in the story of the rise, decay and resurrection of nations equals the development and progress in the last third of the nineteenth century of the States which are bounded by the Ohio and Potomac Rivers on the north, the Gulf of Mexico on the South, the Mississippi on the West, and the Atlantic Ocean on the East.

But this Fair is more than a memorial of the glories of the era which recently closed so brilliantly. It confidently and hopefully enters the twentieth century with the high and patriotic mission of promoting closer and mutually beneficent relations with neighboring countries and communities. The teachings of

this industrial exhibition, carried by visitors from the West India Islands and the South American States to their homes, will enforce the lessons of reciprocity and open here and there new and growing markets.

Experience has often demonstrated that travelers who have circled the earth in search of coveted treasures, returning weary and despairing from their adventures, have found richer fortunes at home. We are sailing the seas and craving entrance for the surplus of our labor among strange peoples on the other side of the globe. All the nations of Europe are striving for a share or possession of the markets of the East, and we are eagerly claiming a place in the race. Mystery and distance have so fired our imaginations and filled our minds that we have neglected the opportunities at our doors. Our trade with the West India Islands has received little encouragement. It has been the theme of neither the writer, the orator nor the statesman, and Congress has been too busy with telescopic visions to use its unaided eyes. In 1900 our exports to the West Indies were greater than to all the Republics of South and Central America together, greater than to all the Far East, and greater than to all the countries of Continental Europe combined, leaving out Germany and France. And yet, while Canada buys sixty per cent. of all her imports from the United States, the West Indies only purchase twenty, and South America ten per cent.

The Spanish Islands, by far the most important of the seventy which constitute the West Indies, were subject to restrictions by the mother country which deprived them of all liberty of trade. Cuba, one of the most productive countries in the world, has claimed the earnest attention of every generation of American statesmen. Jefferson urged its acquisition with all its powers, both for itself and as the key to the Gulf of Mexico. At repeated intervals since then the master mind of the hour has sought excuse and opportunity for its purchase or conquest. The revolutions which have marked the progress of our country in its hundred and twenty years of independent Government have been intensely dramatic—none more so than, none so clearly the guidance of an all-wise Providence as the war with Spain. Spanish misrule had passed the limit of quiet observation, on our part, of its oppressions and cruelties. Protest was precipitated into hostilities by the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in the har-

bor of Havana, and in a hundred days Spain had lost her three-hundred-year grip on the Western Hemisphere, and the Philippine Archipelago. Porto Rico is ours, and having been placed upon a sound financial basis, is now reaping the advantages of free entry into our markets, and corresponding privileges of purchase in ours for her needs.

We have assumed grave responsibilities in Cuba. Under the wise exercise of our protection, she is soon to be an independent State. Americans with American capital and American enterprise will in larger numbers every year become her citizens and develop her wonderful agricultural and mineral resources. We must give her the help and encouragement of beneficial concessions for her leading products. The wealth we thus create will be spent here for the railway and electrical supplies, the machinery and tools, the textile fabrics and agricultural implements required for her increasing population and wants. With Cuba this southern country is open to relations of incalculable benefit to both.

Reciprocity has been a popular, but undefined idea in American politics. Its possibilities have captured our imagination. Its practical and beneficial limits have never been revealed. Where it brings the highly organized industries and cheap labor of other countries in competition in our markets with our own, the scheme will not be adopted. Bargains are never one-sided among shrewd dealers, and in large and in detail, reciprocity is a bargain. But with the West India Islands, and most, if not all, the South and Central American Republics, and Mexico, it is our plain duty to offer such mutual advantages by tariff concessions as will draw them to us, and give us in return the better position for our products among their people. We cannot expect that the British colonies in the Western Hemisphere will forever purchase sixty per cent. of their importations from the United States with little corresponding buying on our part from them. We must keep and foster this vast commerce by liberal recognition, for British America bought from us in 1900 $117,191,302, as against $88,842,130 from Mexico and all the Central and South American Republics, and $26,934,524 from Cuba. The balance of trade in our favor with Canada last year was $62,588,807, while the balance against us with South America was $61,458,582.

Of the three great owners of the Americas, Great Britain has three hundred thousand more square miles than the United States, and the Spanish-speaking peoples nearly twice the area of our territory, including Alaska and Porto Rico. The population of this vast section of the earth is twenty millions less than that of this Republic. It is capable of comfortably sustaining hundreds of millions of inhabitants. The genius of the twentieth century will build highways through, and bring out the productive powers of these wildernesses. The ever-growing wants of increasing settlements will call for the steel and iron and wood and textile manufactures in which we are supreme.

The reason that Canada, with five millions, is a better customer of ours than eighteen sister republics of Spanish origin, with fifty-three millions of people, is not wholly due to language, institutions or contiguity. Europe holds its grip upon ninety per cent. of the markets of these countries, notwithstanding the wonderful progress in the last decade of the United States in the output and superiority of its manufactures. We are breaking down barriers and winning industrial triumphs in Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, but are still unsuccessful beggars in our own Hemisphere.

Our failure to capture or hold what is legitimately our own is due to the fact that we have abandoned the sea. Our country, with its superb energy and limitless productive powers, but without an adequate merchant marine, is like Hercules chained to his forge, or an eagle clipped of its wings. Until ships under the American Flag are carrying American merchandise and establishing routes and ports and banking facilities for American commerce, we cannot possess or enjoy our inheritance. When the Isthmian Canal is opened, built, owned and controlled, as it will be, by the United States, our poverty on the ocean will make it the opportunity of our rivals. The day ought to be near—it should be hastened by this Exhibition—when American fleets, carrying the surplus of the harvests of the South from her fields, her forests, and factories, and returning with responding cargoes from the West Indies, and South, North, and Central American countries will utilize for our national wealth, patriotism and pride, the superb harbor and convenient location of Charleston.

These conditions make it important and imperative that we

maintain the Monroe Doctrine. This American principle of international law is not a menace. It leaves intact and unmolested the titles and sovereignty of all the European powers possessing territories on this side of the Atlantic. But since it was promulgated, December 2d, 1823, it has been notice and warning that no sovereignty of the old world can enlarge its area or acquire new lands in the New. Now that we have become among the foremost of nations, and our commerce, already so vast, is rapidly expanding in every quarter of the globe, we are more than ever, by principle, heredity and self-interest, advocates of peace. But if one of the great powers should acquire naval stations, harbors and bases of supplies, so as to command the Eastern and Western side of the Isthmian Canal, it would be a perpetual peril to our coasts, our communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, our most important coastwise commerce, our deep-sea traffic and our merchant marine. It would endanger the future of the results of which this Fair is the forerunner. The Monroe Doctrine in its integrity is Peace. A navy so strong that none would care or dare to test its force and validity will keep the peace. Our only demand on Cuba for our services and sacrifices for her liberty and independence has been that neither weakness nor cupidity shall ever permit her to let a foreign power own and construct impregnable batteries about a port and have ironclads in its harbors within Cuban boundaries.

As we recall here to-day the events which have culminated in the marvelous material prosperity we celebrate, we must recognize the educational influence and spiritual significance of this gathering. The formation of gigantic corporations, the accumulation of fortunes beyond the romancing of all the ages, and the scattering of homes, competence and better living over the land as if they were seed from a sower, carried over plains and mountains by the wind, have temporarily shut from view all the purposes of liberty except its money-making opportunities. Mammon is an incident of our rapid development, but not the spirit which has made this Republic the freest, strongest and happiest nation of the world. Happily, the church, the university, the college, and the school have grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength. When greed is god, and to make a fortune the only aspiration and exertion of life, its inequalities breed discontent or socialism or anarchy. We possess an intel-

ligent apprehension of the beneficence of the equality of all before the law, the advantages of education, common, classic, and technical, giving which promotes independence, charity which cares for the disabled, careers in fields of high thinking and living, food for soul, mind and body, and comforts of home and travel unknown to our fathers.

The founders of our nation, whether kneeling on Plymouth Rock in the snows of a New England winter, or confronting an unknown wilderness and hostile savages at Jamestown, or on the banks of the Ashley, devoutly expressed and confirmed their faith in the goodness of God. We are their heirs, the heirs of a nobler heritage than ever before came to any people, in plenty where they were in poverty, in light where they were in darkness, the strongest where they were the weakest, the safest where they were in most danger, the happiest in everything which makes earth a paradise, where they had every discomfort and no encouragement but unquestioning faith in the future. The lessons of this wondrous story are not only inspiration for us in the new century, but as they penetrate the islands and countries about us they will strengthen the ties of neighborhood and brotherhood.

No review of the one hundred and fourteen years of our existence as a nation, and contemplation of its perils, triumphs, and results, would be complete without tribute and reverence for the Constitution of the United States. This great charter of rights and liberties has alone survived the revolutions which have overturned or radically changed every other government since it was adopted. Except as to the amendments necessitated by the Civil War, it remains as it came from the hands of its framers. Wise and far-sighted as were its authors, they never dreamed that in it were the powers which would carry and sustain the Republic through foreign wars and domestic strife, and be as perfectly equal to the government and wants of a Continent and islands on the other side of the globe and peoples alien in race and civilization, as it was for the young and sparsely settled States on the Atlantic for whom it was created. Its deathless spirit has marched with the years and kept pace with progress in the advancement of human rights, the assimilation of millions from foreign lands, the growth of great cities, the mutations of intelligence and the changes in laws and customs necessitated by steam

and electricity. To some it has been a fetich, and to others a Frankenstein monster. But, unlike Mrs. Shelley's masterpiece, it is endowed with a soul, and has been the source of blessing instead of a curse.

A large majority of the Constitutional Convention believed it to be a compact between sovereign States and voidable by their people. But events demonstrated that it possessed every attribute of sovereignty and perpetual life. It has permitted acts and measures which our ablest statesmen pronounced in their day destructive of society or the Republic, and made them promote the best interests of the one and the strength of the other. Calhoun dreaded the horrors which he believed would follow emancipation of the slaves; Webster was very hostile to further territorial expansion and fearful of dangers he believed might follow. Emancipation has proved the salvation of the section which South Carolina's statesman loved, and lived and died for, and the extension of our boundaries to the Gulf, the Pacific and the Arctic Circle is the universally recognized source of the happy population, power, prestige and wealth of our country. Some of the purest patriots among our contemporaries have had the same terror because of their belief in the lack of constitutional authority for our rescue and government of Cuba, our taking of Hawaii, our possession and administration of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

Our first and greatest jurist, John Marshall, Chief Jusitce of the Supreme Court, built a nation of limitless powers for preservation and growth from the generalizations of the Constitution. Following the lines thought out by his genius, that Court has in that immortal instrument found authority for the wants of each generation. So, we here, bowing to its latest decision, lay aside our different theories of constitutional construction, to welcome Porto Rico and her products, to bid all hail to Cuba, and to prepare for the culture and utilization of the markets of Hawaii and the Philippines, and of the near-by Orient from the vantage of Manila for the ever-increasing surplus of our labor, which will paralyze our industries unless it can energize them by outlets and purchasers.

Radical differences of creed and temperament created out of men of the same race and country the Puritan and the Cavalier. The harsh, forbidding, almost unconquerable obstacles of the

New England wilderness and climate intensified the unbending doctrines, the stern purposes, the temperate life and invincible determination of the Puritans. The semi-tropical luxuriance and easy adaptation of the South gave opportunity for the elegance, the social pleasures, the sports of field and forest, the generous hospitality and stately homes which the Cavalier loved. A high and common aspiration for freedom made them comrades on the battlefields of the Revolution, and Lincoln from Massachusetts and Greene from Rhode Island fought with Marion and Moultrie and Sumpter over these hills and plains. They were in elbow-touch facing the enemy in the War of 1812, and in storming the heights of Chapultepec and the walls of the city of the Montezumas. Both willing to die for what they believed the right, Federals and Confederates after four years of bloody battles became friends as only soldiers can who mutually respect each other's courage and conscience. At Manila and Santiago, and charging against Spanish batteries and intrenchments on the hills of Cuba, they were again emulous comrades and eager patriots following the old flag.

The spur of necessity created out of Puritan education and conditions a race of restless state builders and pioneers, inventors, merchants and artisans, and the most successful organizers of industries of any age or country. Their genius for enterprises on shore and sea, and the unequalled opportunities of our land, have given them vast wealth, and with it luxury and ease. When, after the exhaustion of the Civil War, the spur of necessity pricked the skin of the Cavalier, the mettle, resourcefulness and pluck of the race were found unimpaired. Then came the exercise of qualities which overcome all obstacles, develop resources, and energize and enrich communities. The East is surrendering its spindles and the Middle States its furnaces, and they are giving a new and broader and healthier life to the South. The past is but a suggestion of the future of our united country. Sectional lines have disappeared and jealousies and prejudices have worn away. The nineteenth century has opened exhaustless avenues for spiritual, mental and material progress in the United States. Our mission in the twentieth is their extension over the new world.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI EXPOSITION

ADDRESS AS PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION AT THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, ON NEW YORK DAY, OCT. 8, 1898.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Some years ago, Chicago, the metropolis of the West, itself the most marvelous of the creations of the latter half of this wonderful century, reared upon the borders of Lake Michigan an industrial city. The spirits, whose deeds in classic and Eastern tale charmed our childhood, became commonplace mortals. American genius and modern science surpassed in suggestion and execution the works of demi-gods and genii. The stately palaces, broad avenues, lakes and canals of this home of industry and the arts drew all the world within its walls. In its conception and administration the World's Fair at Chicago was a worthy celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, and a fitting tribute to the great explorer.

The far-reaching and beneficent results of that exhibition cannot be estimated. The Old World, absorbed in its inherited enmities, conflicts and jealousies, neither knew nor cared much for this far country across the seas. We had no part nor place in the diplomacy of Europe or the savage partitions and dangerous rivalries in Asia and Africa. Our Army and Navy were insignificant, and our reserve strength unknown. On the other hand, we were dependent upon other countries for a vast amount of manufactured articles, of the products of the loom, the shop, the forge and the skilled artificer. The American artisan found Chicago a trade school. The American inventor found it a university. The American manufacturer learned new and manifold uses for his capital and enterprise. Our industrial progress has been during the four years since the Chicago Exhibition greater than during any decade in our history. Our resources have been developed, our markets enlarged, and new avenues of employment opened. We have, in greater measure than ever before, realized our dream of producing in our country everything re-

quired for our necessities or luxuries. From practical independence of other countries for the products of their fields or factories, we have suddenly become their competitors with our surplus, both within and without their borders. Diplomatists and scientists, military and naval experts, farmers and merchants, manufacturers and mechanics, who came here to exhibit and observe, carried back to their people stories of the vastness of our territory, the perfection of our system of transportation, the size and sudden growth of our cities, the number, the intelligence and the prosperity of our citizens, which taught Europe more about us in six months than had been learned in a century before. The influence of that knowledge gave us a free hand in Cuba and non-intervention in the Philippines.

The great benefits which the World's Fair at Chicago conferred upon the United States in acquisition from foreign countries and information to foreign governments, this trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha is to vastly enhance in bringing nearer together in better understanding of each other the different sections of our own country. I heard Li Hung Chang say when here, that there were many provinces of China and millions of Chinamen who had not heard of the war with Japan. The light of the nineteenth century had not penetrated China's iron-clad isolation. A conflict could be carried on and ended in which her territory was invaded, her fleet destroyed, her cities captured, tens of thousands of her people killed, and lands and islands she had held for centuries wrested from her, while a large part of the people of China were peacefully pursuing their vocations, ignorant of these disasters to their country. This exhibition has increased in industrial interest during every hour of our war with Spain, and yet every pulsation of its activities and every throb of the hearts of its visitors have been moved with patriotic prayers for the success of our arms and intelligent understanding of the justice of our cause. We have carried on a war with a foreign country, raised and equipped an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men and a formidable navy, have won great victories by sea and land, and yet though our interests and industries are so intimately connected that a blow in any section of the country is felt everywhere, this exhibition has as serenely continued its course as it has enthusiastically celebrated the deeds of Dewey, Sampson, Schley and Hobson, and Miles, Shafter and

Merritt. There could be no happier illustration of the boundless resources of the United States and its power for peace or war. It demonstrates the versatility of the Yankee character and its adaptability to circumstances. One thing at a time has had its day, and no longer forms a head-line for the copy-book of the American boy. Spain is thoroughly thrashed with one hand, while the other attends with energy and efficiency to the business of the nation.

New York has been too content with being the Empire State, and with having its chief city the metropolis of the Continent, the West too eager for empire independent of the East, the South living too much upon its traditions and in its past, and the Pacific Slope resting too severely upon its boundless possibilities and great expectations. The war with Spain has superbly restored the sentiment of nationality and eliminated sectional jealousies. But this Exposition is a healthy educator for commercial union. The mission of peace is to develop the practical side of patriotism. It is to teach and demonstrate what will promote the development of the whole country and the prosperity and happiness of the whole people. Patriotism does not legislate for or against the North, or the South, or the East, or the West, but fosters and encourages them all by every measure which binds them more closely together and to the progress of the country.

The concentrated capital of the East is the fruit of three hundred years of settlement and trade. It is needed in the West for railroads, irrigation, mines, water power, furnaces and mills. It furnishes the transportation facilties which transform the prairie from the grazing plains of the buffalo and the hunting haunts of the wolf to the farm, the homestead, and productive power in herds of cattle and vast fields of wheat and corn. Its hopeful enterprise often finds for it an untimely grave in booming towns, unnecessary railroads and worthless mines. But capital is both selfish and intelligent. It never deserts a territory because the investment has failed through bad judgment. It seeks other sources for profitable employment, and finds its remuneration in other and needed work for the development of the country. The honest investor believes in legislation which extends the supervision of the Government over the corporation and the trust. He knows that his safety as well as the public interests require

publicity. It is only when a community foolishly thinks that by having confiscated to-day non-resident permanent investment it has gained without effort the capital for its future that the investor withdraws and stays away. Money is both timid and modest. It seeks to keep out of sight; it hides in stockings, or niches in the wall, or burrows in the ground. It requires high civilization and great guarantees to bring it out, put it in circulation and make it useful. Its freemasonry of fear is confined by no boundaries of land or sea. In times and in places of panic and distrust it disappears and increases the distress. With the return of confidence it moves the machinery of society and makes possible varied industries and prosperity. The State which so legislates as to take away all earning power from the money it has invited or borrowed soon learns that it has gained a temporary advantage and lost its credit, which is the most fruitful source of profit and prosperity. Differences between the East and the West have been due to distance, misunderstanding and demagogues. For a time the sections were daily becoming more widely separated. The West was encouraged to believe that it was plundered by usurers and extortionists in the East, and the East learned to distrust the integrity and intentions of the West. Far-sighted citizens of the prairie and mountain States knew that the resources of this wide territory had scarcely been touched. Drouth can be defeated by the ditch. Millions of acres from which the homesteader has fled in despair and millions more known as the Great American Desert are to become, through storage reservoirs and irrigation, fruitful farms, thriving settlements and happy homes.

The Nile, the father of waters, has run its unvexed course to the sea for thousands of years. There were seasons of plenty and seasons of famine. The tyrannical and capricious stream asserted its lordship over man by giving or withholding the current which made a garden of the thirsty sand plain. Science said to capital: "For the first time in ages Egypt has a stable government, law and justice. Property is secure, investments are safe, and money invested in the land of the Pharaohs only risks the judgment with which it is spent and the wisdom with which the enterprises it creates are managed." The response was instantaneous. Two crops grow where one, and sometimes none, did before. The Egyptian farmer, always oppressed and robbed by his rulers, and

often ruined by the Nile, is becoming an independent, self-reliant man. He confidently plants, sure that he will reap the harvest, and laughs at the efforts of the ancient and historic river to break from the chains of modern science. His own courage restored by prosperity, he avenges the murder of General Gordon at Khartoum by defeating and utterly routing the fierce Dervishes before whom his broken-spirited father, only a decade ago, fled and died.

There is mineral wealth stored in the hills and mountains between the Mississippi and the Pacific which when developed will make all prior discoveries appear insignificant. Thousands of miles of railways must be constructed to connect the farms, the factories and the mines of the future with the trunk lines which traverse the continent.

Education is the remedy for our troubles. The school is the preparatory department of the college, and the college fits boys for the greater university of the world. The school and the college teach, they cannot educate. The collegian can become as narrow as his village playmate who graduated at the common school if both remain for their life-work in the isolated environment of these local conditions, prejudices and misconceptions. Both of them come to this Exposition. The encircling horizon which made coincident their physical and intellectual vision expands with their minds and embraces States and cities, arts and industries. They see the vastness and interdependence of our internal commerce. They learn that the more intelligently selfish any business may be, the more patriotically it encourages every other industry and contributes to the general weal. The solution of the century-vexing problem of capital and labor grows simpler. They see that even a railroad president may be a public spirited citizen without betraying the interests or lessening the business of his company; that the money power is the concentration of the capital of the many at convenient centers of financial operations and contact with the world, where it lies idle and useless in times of distrust, but is easily drawn to the beneficent purposes and productive energies of the community which can give it profitable employment. Those from large cities learn that New York and Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago are marts of trade, not places of power. The country feeds and recruits them. They reflect and do not originate the conditions and opinions of the

Republic. The untraveled city man is the most provincial of mortals. His local pride paralyzes his powers of observation, and the rest of the universe exists only for his benefit and by his permission. The West is an unknown land of grazing plains, mining camps and big game. But he finds here the broadest culture of the schools and colleges, a vigorous and healthy public sentiment, the courage to try and the ability to utilize every invention which will increase the productive power and decrease the cost of operating the farm, the forest, the manufactory and the mine. Thus the broader education brings into contact and activity all the elements of our strength and growth. Self-centered satisfaction is an insurmountable barrier to mental, moral or material growth. Harmony and proportion are as essential to the vitality of the several parts of the country and to the prosperity of the whole as they are to the model from which the sculptor creates a Venus of Milo or the glory of perfect manhood in the Apollo Belvedere.

Whenever and wherever we have worked together as one people, the combination of our almost endless variety of production and strength, climate and temperament, has produced marvelous results. In the twenty years, from 1875 to 1895, the average annual production of pig-iron in France has increased from 1,265,000 to 2,006,000 tons; in Germany, from 1,946,000 to 5,082,000 tons; in Great Britain, from 6,562,000 to 7,361,000 tons; while the United States, during the same period, has increased its pig-iron product from 2,284,000 to 8,263,000 tons. Our share of the world's product of this great industry, which has been regarded as the barometer of national wealth and prosperity, was twenty years ago about 16 per cent., and in 1895 over 30 per cent., and is now quite one-third. Great Britain is our great rival in coal, and her output is still about 24,000,000 tons greater than ours. But while the output of Great Britain has increased from 126,972,000 tons in 1875 to 184,819,000 in 1895, that of the United States has grown in the same period from 45,283,000 tons to 160,832,000 tons. Of the coal product of the world Great Britain's proportion was twenty years ago 47 per cent., and is now 34 per cent., while that of the United States has increased in that period from 17 to 30 per cent. The increased consumption of raw cotton fairly marks the development of our manufacturing industries. The average amount of cotton taken by

Great Britain in the ten years from 1830 to 1840 was 1,500,000 tons, which increased in 1894 to 7,091,000 tons. The average annual consumption in the United States from 1830 to 1840 was 376,000 tons, and this had grown in 1894 to 5,552,000 tons. We are the greatest producers of raw cotton in the world, and only Great Britain leads us in its manufacture. We produce one-fifth of the wheat of the world, 22 per cent. of its gold and 32 per cent. of its silver, while our railway construction in twenty-five years has been eight times more than Germany and twenty-three times more than Great Britain. There are in the United States 184,603 miles of railroad. This exceeds the mileage of the railroads of Europe and Asia combined. Our share in the commerce of the world, which is excelled only by that of Great Britain and Germany, has increased fifteen per cent., while that of Great Britain has grown only two-and-a-half per cent. in the last ten years. Neither the foreign trade of the world nor the internal trade of any country can compare with the vast volume of inter-state commerce carried on our railroads, lakes, canals and rivers. Fabulous are the figures which tell of the interchange of the products of our mixed climates and myriad industries among our seventy millions of people. They mount higher than the traffic on all the oceans of the world. The populous East, the awakened South, the developing West, the growing States on the Pacific, and the as yet infant mountain commonwealths, inspired by the new birth of nationality, fraternal feeling and mutual respect, celebrate the last years of the nineteenth century and the dawn of the twentieth by opening another era of prosperity for the United States.

Foreign critics say Americans boast of the bigness of their country. There is no use denying the fact; we are big. We are not too large for a destiny never so manifest as to-day. Cuba is under our protection and certain to come under our flag by the vote of her people; Porto Rico is ours; our foothold in the Philippines will never be surrendered, and the markets of the far East are inviting us to compete with the nations of Europe for their trade. Big as we are, the future is bigger with duties, responsibilities and opportunities for our citizens. The sentimentalist declares that such a review as has occupied our hour to-day is the grossest materialism. After years of experiment and observation I have found that sentiment has less alloy, is purer and

attains loftier ideals under a well thatched roof than on the sod, under storms as well as sunshine, and with drenching clouds as well as stars above. "What makes a hero in battle?" I inquired of a veteran, the victor on many a bloody field. His answer was: "Plenty of good beef or mutton and hot coffee." The poet and the dreamer still lament the disappearance of the buffalo. They regard the extermination of the vast herds of this picturesque animal which once occupied and fed upon these plains as an indictment upon which we stand before cultured juries convicted of grossness and brutality. The buffalo and the ox represent the romantic and the practical views of life. Less than twenty years ago there were one million buffaloes west of the Mississippi, and it required a territory capable of supporting in comfort ten millions of inhabitants for their pasturage. Lowing herds of cattle, waving fields of grain and stacks of corn and wheat in these new States are an essential part of the productive power which gives to the United States that strongest of positions, the food emporium for Europe. Money for the staff of life from the working millions of our own and of far distant lands flows in where the buffalo impoverished, to enrich the farmer, create new homesteads and thriving villages, to make the wilderness a garden, and add incalculably to the sum of human happiness.

When Nebraska shall have reached the age of New York there will be a population of over two hundred millions in the United States. Our domain will be sufficient for their support and our institutions elastic enough for their orderly government and their liberty. Intelligence will be keen and high and the State will be very close to the daily life and industrial activities of the people. Co-operation will be working to an extent now thought chimerical. There will always be differences of conditions, as God has endowed his children with degrees of gifts, but the much abused doctrine that the world owes every man a living will be in general vogue and practice. The lazy, the shiftless and the improvident will grumble and suffer then as now, but there will be a place for all according to the talents bestowed upon them, and wisely perfected plans for the care and comfort of the aged and the helpless. The English language will be the speech of diplomacy and the tongue of a quarter of the human race. The United States and Great Britain, having worked harmoniously together for a long period, will dominate the world. Their rule

and example will be for the promotion of commerce and the spread of civilization with its requirements and benefits in Asia and Africa. Year by year will come nearer the realization of the promise which began and has inspired the Christian era of "Peace on Earth and Good Will among Men."

The war with Spain has unified our country. The sons of the South and the North fighting side by side and under the old flag has effaced the last vestige of the passions of the Civil War. The young men of the farthest West and its primitive conditions lying with their comrades from the circles of the clubs and fashion in the East in the trenches at El Caney and charging up the hill and over the defences of San Juan have made the men of the West and the East one by the baptism of blood. Whether from the plains of Arizona or the palaces of New York, and whether dressed in broadcloth or in buckskin, the Rough Rider is the same American.

Venerable New York sends hail and cordial congratulations to young Nebraska. Our settlement is two hundred and forty and our sovereignty ninety years older than yours. Three centuries of development under original conditions and free institutions greet this half century of the West from the painted savage to the industrious citizen with a past and present full of cheer and hope. First among the States of the Republic in population, prosperity, educational institutions, churches, productive power and wealth, and commanding the resources of the continent through her metropolis, the second city of the world, New York, owes it all to American liberty and opportunity. It is her pride and pleasure to attract and welcome the citizens of all the sister States. The people of the South, the West, and the Pacific have found hospitable homes in the Empire State in numbers greater than the population of many cities in those sections. From Manhattan Island and the banks of the Hudson invisible wires stretch to distant places all over this land. They are burdened with messages of love and encouragement from the old homestead in the granite hills of New England, or nestling among the flowers of the sunny South, or under the clear skies and by the fruit orchards of the Pacific Slope or on the prairie farm, to the struggling boy or successful man battling with the world in our great city. Spirit voices of those who have joined the majority speak tenderly over these lines, recalling childhood days, the district school,

the tearful parting and the plunge into the unknown, the family united again under the old roof to celebrate the marriage feast or clasping hands in speechless grief beside the mother's bier. These fraternal ties intertwining with the bonds of patriotism and common interest bind our States together in one indissoluble union, and make us all one people, of one country and under one flag.

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF THE MAINE

ADDRESS AT THE CONCERT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE BATTLESHIP "MAINE," AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, MARCH 4, 1898.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I fear a speech will be a false note in the exquisite harmony which is to be given by the artists who have volunteered their services this evening. But the call to participate and introduce the exercises of an occasion like this is too imperative to be questioned or denied. It is singularly appropriate that art in one of its most agreeable forms—music—should pay tribute to the memory of the heroes who went down with the battleship *Maine,* and call together the audience which contributes to the support of the families of those who died.

The great apostle gave as the virtues, faith, hope and charity, and the chief of these is charity. Charity is broader far than mere helpfulness to those in distress. The tragedy which calls us together has given it a patriotic, as well as benevolent significance. By the exercise of its spirit the judgment of the country is suspended until the facts are ascertained. By the exercise of its spirit we not only do justice to the dead and care for the living, but we believe, until the fact shall prove otherwise, that the crime, which might be possible, is so unworthy of a brave people as to be bitterly improbable.

Notwithstanding that our strength is upon the land and our territory is so vast, we have always had a national fondness for the sea. There has been little hitherto in our conditions or our relations with the nations of the world to call for the enormous naval armaments which they deem necessary for their well-being or their safety. But nothing so stirs the blood and fires the imagination of Americans as a victory upon the water. The Continental Army of the Revolution, the little force which conquered Mexico, the deeds of valor of Federal and Confederate soldiers in the Civil War arouse our pride and enthusiasm. There is, however, an element of romance about the battleship upon the

ocean which elicits a deeper and a keener interest. The factors of land warfare are thoroughly understood, but the sailor meets not only the usual dangers of battle, but also the perils of the deep. His ship is his country, and ours. He must keep it afloat, with the flag flying, against both the destructive forces of nature and the power of the enemies of his country. It is the glory of the American Navy that it has never disappointed either the hopes or the ambitions of our people. Its record is brilliant with victories which keep alive the national spirit and promote patriotism.

Many of us have wandered through the great galleries of Europe and lingered in the salons where upon the walls were pictured the battles and the naval engagements which had saved the country or increased its power. We have no national gallery; we have no salon of battle pictures, but every American boy has painted for himself Paul Jones sweeping the ocean with his little sloop in the Revolutionary War, the frigate *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides"—bearing down all before her and giving for the time the sea power to the American Navy, Porter serenely sailing through shot and shell past the batteries of Vicksburg, and Farragut, lashed to the shrouds, in the bay at Mobile, winning new laurels for American seamen. And our blood moves at the narration of the incident as hotly as did that of our fathers in the midst of the strife when we read of Commodore Perry, abandoning to the enemy his helpless ship, going in his little boat to another, and with her reconquering his flagship and causing the surrender of all the vessels in the enemy's fleet.

The tragedy of the *Maine* has its value. Sad as are such occurrences, they reveal that idealism has not been killed by the materialism of our times. We all of us know men who are chips and sawdust. Their lives are exhausted in ceaseless efforts to get more of that of which they already have more than they need. They serve their purpose on the material side of the country's growth, but they are not the nation. The same spirit which fired the farmer's shot at Lexington that echoed around the world, which stood behind the breastworks of Bunker Hill, which pledged and periled fortune and life in the Declaration of Independence, which left office and pulpit, and farm and factory, and store and counting-room to save the Union, animates to-day the American people. Let the national honor, or the national flag, or the terri-

tory of the nation be assailed and the hot pursuit of money, which is our characteristic, is abandoned, and we are all soldiers and sailors. We are apt to believe, when peace has prevailed long enough for generations to grow to maturity who know not war and sacrifices for country, that the active principle of patriotism which gives all for country is paralyzed or dead. Paul Revere and his midnight ride, Nathan Hale and his youthful sacrifice, the last words of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," the thousand incidents where a brigade or a regiment or a company or a soldier or a sailor has stood at the post of duty and welcomed death to save the day are the history of the past, but the marine, standing at his post, undisturbed after the frightful explosion, waiting to report and receive orders, presenting arms and saluting as his captain rushes up on the deck of the *Maine,* is Paul Revere and Nathan Hale and Lawrence and all the rest of them alive to-day, as they were alive in their day, equal to the emergency in their hour.

There is nothing so magnificent and awe-inspiring as the conservatism of power. It belongs to our times; it existed in no other age. Power has been the symbol at all periods in the world's history of carnage, robbery, lust, murder, and ruthless spoliation. It has oppressed the weak, it has robbed the defenseless, it has enslaved the conquered. We have learned to control the power of nature for the benefit of man; we have taken the destructive forces of the earth, the water, and the air, and harnessed them to machinery to stimulate production, create wealth, promote prosperity, and extend happiness. The United States is the strongest country in the world. Its isolation, its defense of three thousand miles of ocean, its ten millions of available soldiers, its vigorous youth, its martial spirit, and its exhaustless wealth and resources, make the Republic the ideal expression of power. It is a power that has been created by peace and civilization. It is a power controlled by intelligence, patriotism, and Christianity. It is a power whose prestige and influence are used not to oppress, attack or absorb its weaker neighbors, but to protect them against encroachments upon their territory or sovereignty by the governments of Europe.

The majesty of civilized power was never better illustrated than in the attitude of the United States in the present crisis. This nation may be easily moved to passionate excitement; it

may rise to great heights of intensity and enthusiasm, but the greater the peril the nobler its calm. Captain Sigsbee, barely extracting himself from the perils of the explosion and the ruins of his ship, had every incentive for harsh language and passionate accusation, but, like the true American sailor that he is, calmest when the danger is greatest, he penned the message to his countrymen, "Suspend your judgment until you know the facts." President McKinley, feeling behind him an uprising which threatened to sweep the country into war, right or wrong, said to the people: "Suspend your judgment until you know the facts." And Congress and the people follow with the same calmness the investigation and await the verdict of the Court of Inquiry.

Our sympathies are with the Cubans who are struggling for liberty, as our sympathies are with every people seeking to govern themselves. But with sympathy and sorrow and anger the dominant emotions of the hour, the confidence of the nation is firm in its President, and its judgment is unmoved by prejudice or passion.

One of the most dramatic situations in our history was Garfield meeting the maddened mob bent upon the murder and the spoliation of every sympathizer with the South at the time of the assassination of Lincoln, and staying their march and dispersing them to their homes with the solemn admonition, "God reigns and the Republic at Washington still lives." That message of Garfield's is our lesson for to-day: "God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives." That Government will protect our interests and preserve our honor; that Government will find out the right, and, finding out the right, will perform it; that Government will do what is just to Spaniard, to Cuban, and to ourselves.

God grant that the result of the inquiry will be the verdict which we all want, and that is that the tragedy of the *Maine* was not a conspiracy, but an accident. It would be a shock not only to us, but to the civilized world, if it should prove otherwise. As the days roll by and the situation becomes clearer, whatever may be our feeling in regard to the struggle in Cuba, we exonerate a brave nation from the crime of assassination.

The President knows that at his call the people of this country stand ready to give him their lives and their fortunes. There is no limit to the men, no limit to the money that are at his command if men and money should be deemed necessary for the na-

tional defense and the national honor. Our duty as plain citizens is performed for the present in sending to him this message on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as we do here to-night, in paying sweet and loving tribute to the memory of the men who went down with the *Maine*—because they were there to fight our battles if need be—and in contributing as we may to make comfortable those whom they loved and left behind among us.

ST. LOUIS MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, AT NOON, JUNE 14, 1896.

MR PRESIDENT AND MERCHANTS OF ST. LOUIS: It is with great pleasure that I am here to-day to meet you and be greeted by you. I did not come to St. Louis to make a business speech—I am a business man on a political errand—but I came because I believe it to be the duty of the business men of this country to take the government of the business of the country in hand. We have neglected our duty in that respect, and many of the evils—most of them—which afflict our municipalities, our States and our Congress do so because the business men o fthe country have been too absorbed in their own affairs—their private affairs—to pay attention to public questions which are their private affairs. This Convention which meets here to-morrow is a gathering of the representatives of one of the great parties of the country. It is fortunate for free institutions and for their permanence that there should always be two great parties to watch each other, and when the one makes mistakes or becomes corrupt, the other can step into its place.

I count it a fortunate event that the Republican National Convention is held in the city of St. Louis. It is fortunate that this party, organized on lines which thirty-five years ago were so full of passionate resentment, is holding its quadrennial meeting for the nomination of its candidates and for the enunciation of its principles in the principal city of what was formerly a slave State, in the principal city of what was formerly a border State, in the midst of the territory where a generation before the people were at each other's throats upon the existence of the Union. It demonstrates as nothing else could to the country and the world that the United States are now one nation and one people. It is fortunate, also, that these Conventions are held. This is a great country; it is a big country; it is a vast country; and the elements of its union and prosperity will be promoted by having all parts become better acquainted with each other. The North, the East,

and the Northwest know but little of this capital of the Mississippi valley, and of the Mississippi valley itself. But we come here from New England, we come from the Middle States, we come from the Northwest, we come from the Pacific Coast, to carry back to our constituencies everywhere that the Mississippi valley is about as important a part in the business and intelligence of this great country as the sections from which we come ourselves. Certainly, we have all been pleased with the generous hospitality with which you have received us. No community ever did so much to make the visiting delegations of the country happy and comfortable. There has been no politics in this reception. You simply wanted to know the men without regard to politics from all over the country, and that they should know you. No host ever did so much for guests as you have done. To clear your atmosphere and to give it a temperature that New Yorkers envy, you get up a $10,000,000 cyclone—and you did it well.

Now, gentlemen, I believe in the force and power and influence of organizations like your own all over the country. They are the real Legislatures; they are the real Congresses. There is no Board of Trade in the United States which in the same length of time could have done and failed to do what Congress has done and failed to do in the last six months. Whatever differences of latitude or longitude there may be, there is no difference of opinion upon great questions affecting the currency of the country between New York and St. Louis and Boston and New Orleans, and Philadelphia and Minneapolis, and St. Paul and San Francisco. We know what is best for the interests of the country, and we wish our representatives knew as much. We have seen a spectacle which has had the most disastrous effect upon our credit and upon our business, of a few men intent upon putting their ideas upon nine-tenths of their fellow-citizens, holding up the Government, saying "You shall not have the money to pay your debts, you shall not have the money to run your Government, you shall not have the revenue necessary to keep yourself solvent, you shall not have the resources necessary to sustain your credit, unless you adopt our ideas in regard to the currency." I am glad, not as a Republican, but as a business man, that that issue has been made, and let us settle it now and forever. I have no hesitation in saying that if to-morrow there is nominated and put upon a platform in the Republican Conven-

tion a man who believes that there should be the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and a platform which so declares, that ticket could not be elected. There are no party lines on a question of this kind. The business men of this country know, and know by their knowledge of the laws of trade, know by the sad experience of the last few years, that one of the causes of this frightful depression which is keeping us in the throes of uncertainty and distrust is because there is a doubt as to our currency being on a par and in touch with the best currency of the commercial nations of the world. I have no sympathy with half-and-half measures, or men who are half men and half something else. Let us say what we mean, and then let the people, knowing what we mean, decide for the one side or the other. I am told that the word "gold" is unpopular. Well, then, let us declare for gold and see if it is unpopular—"G-o-l-d" as the standard currency of the United States, until by international agreement with the commercial nations of the world we shall have some other standard. With two thousand millions of foreign commerce, with Liverpool affecting the price of our wheat and the value of our corn, with our products going to other nations from our factories, we can not be isolated from the rest of the world in that which the world calls money. Our money must be as good as the best, and never tainted nor doubted. Let silver have its place, let paper have its place, let any token have its place that is redeemable on presentation at the bank in a gold coin of the value expressed on the face of the token.

Now, gentlemen, I did not come here to argue the currency question. I came as a business man to meet business men, knowing that all business men have the same ideas on this question. And what do these exchanges mean? We are told that there are certain States wedded to other ideas. We have no hostility to them. I have just been through them, and they are to grow great and prosperous, not by one element of production, whether it is silver, or gold, or copper, or cattle, or the product of the field, but they are to grow great by the varied industries which make Missouri great and make New York great.

I am delighted to meet with you here in St. Louis. It is many years since I had the pleasure of meeting you on a public occasion. I am delighted to find, in studying your local affairs, that you have the best city government, according to an authority on

that subject, Dr. Shaw, that there is anywhere in the United States. That city government has come from having devolved upon your best citizens the formation of a charter for yourselves. It solves the problem of municipal government, that, leave the people of any locality to themselves, and intelligence and integrity will govern that municipality.

Gentlemen, there are in this country about fourteen millions of people who are wage earners. About twelve millions of them are in the States that believe that the standard of money in the United States should be the best, or equal to the best, in the world. Those twelve millions of workers want to be paid for 100 cents' worth of work in a coin that is worth 100 cents anywhere; and you who are at these great marts, you who are studying blackboards, you who are listening to the ticker over on the other side of this room, you want that there should be no doubt on that question. You come here in the morning and you find the price of wheat in Liverpool, you find what is being done in Argentina, you know what is being done in India, you know what is being done in Egypt, you know what are the carrying prices by land and sea, and then as merchants you form your calculations; but if you have to figure up at the same time what is the difference between the money which you use and the money with which you have got to sell or buy, there is not brains enough in this organization to know whether a man goes to bed solvent or bankrupt.

Gentlemen, on behalf of my associates in the Convention, I thank you for the generous hospitality with which you have received us; I thank you for the facilities of every kind which you have offered to make our stay here comfortable and pleasant; I thank you that you have led us to know that if any National Convention for any purpose wants to find a first-class place in which to meet, it would better come to St. Louis.

MISSOURI SOLDIERS' HOME

ADDRESS AT THE ENTERTAINMENT IN CONVENTION HALL, ST. LOUIS, IN AID OF THE SOLDIERS' HOME OF MISSOURI, ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 15, 1896.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We Americans are fond of dramatic situations. The first century of our national existence is the most wonderful and brilliant drama ever written. The stage has been the North American continent, the actors the American people and the audience the world. The subject of this drama is the evolution of liberty. Its influence upon the audience has been incalculable. It has promoted revolutions, overturned thrones, changed the course of empires and uplifted distant peoples to higher civilization and the acquisition of greater rights. The contrast between to-night and to-morrow is picturesque. To-night we devote the hour to memory and gratitude—to memory of the heroes dead, who fell upon the battlefield for their flag and country, and gratitude to the heroes living, who, with their departed comrades, saved this republic. To-morrow the delegates representing one of the great parties of the country will meet in the effort to put before the country candidates and principles, which will give to their organization and its measures and policy the control of the Government, which the men whom we honor to-night enabled to exist.

The characteristics of the decisive conflicts of the past and of the principles enunciated by the great minds of former generations and the wonderful adventures of discoverers and explorers have been that they little understand the ultimate results of what they did or said. All the centuries of the Christian era were a preparation for the American experiment. From the crucifixion of the Saviour to the sailing of Columbus there are dreary ages of tyranny and suffering. The culture of antiquity, its civilization and its arts, were lost in the darkness of the Middle Ages. Feudalism divided the civilized world into masters and slaves. The concentration of power in the monarch permitted the light of liberty and learning to glimmer here and there, amidst the

gloom of arbitrary exactions and fierce oppression. The voyage of Columbus and his historic discovery present the picture which survives the events of the fifteenth century and gives to it its glory and renown. But Columbus, dreamer and seer as he was, neither saw nor comprehended the consequences of his discovery. The little band of pilgrims which gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower* were the state builders of their period. The charter which they drew presented the central features of American liberty. Its immortal declaration that they proposed to form in the wilderness, where they would settle, a government of just and equal laws, laid the foundations of our institutions. But the narrow bigotry with which they carried out this principle demonstrated that they had not yet arrived at a full apprehension of the broad conditions and beneficent workings of this mighty truth.

The Declaration of Independence, put for the first time in a bill of rights, which should be the charter of a nation, the academic and philosophic utterances of Rousseau and the philosophers of the sixteenth century. Its maxim, which condensed all the teachings of the past on the rights of man, was "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And yet the patriots of the Continental Congress and the soldiers of the Continental Army did not comprehend the infirmity of their sublime principle with slavery existing in the country. For three-quarters of a century the American people explained and blushed and blushed to explain this anomaly between the declarations and the practice of their charter of liberty. But when the proclamation of emancipation, striking the shackles from the limbs of the slaves and freeing the bondmen, was issued by Abraham Lincoln, the stain was removed from the parchment of Jefferson. American citizens stood erect in the pride of untainted liberty, and the painful and weary march for freedom had ended in victory. The victory had been won by the sacrifice of the flower of the youth of the country. Those in the Federal Army fighting for the preservation of the Union, and those in the Confederate Army, of the same race and lineage, fighting for what they believed to be right, expiated by their sacrifice the crime of the century, and with their blood washed from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of the courts, the infamy of

human slavery. The full fruition of the aspiration of the ages and the realization of the hopes of mankind came at Appomattox. The sun of that day illuminated two thousand years of human progress. It made clear the perfected principles of the Declaration of Independence, the full practice of the *Mayflower* Charter, the living exercise of the rights of Magna Charta and the fulfillment in government of equal rights and equal opportunities before the law and the evolution of civilization towards Christ's mission, "Peace on earth and good will toward men."

Thirty years ago I delivered the address on the first Memorial Day in the graveyard of the old Cortland town church. The sacred edifice had been worshiped in for 150 years. The stones which marked the places where the rude forefathers of the hamlet slept, bore inscriptions to the memory of many a soldier of the Revolutionary War. Beside them were the new-made graves of their grandsons and great-grandsons, who had fallen in the battles to preserve the nation which they had died to found. Every one of the three thousand people who had gathered from the village and the farms were in deep mourning. There was a vacant place at every fireside and sorrow in every heart. The oration proceeded amidst tears and sobs, which faintly expressed the deep agony and love of my hearers. On Memorial Day, this last 30th day of May, the land was full of joy. It was a day of parades, excursions and festivals, of pleasure and happiness. The sorrows and griefs, the hatreds and vindictiveness of thirty years ago were forgotten. The men and the women, the boys and the girls on steamboats and on cars, in the fields and in the woods with merry games and infectious laughter, were the living and beautiful evidences of the growth, the prosperity and the beneficence of our freed and reunited Republic. Thank God for the change.

A generation has come into active and controlling citizenship which knows nothing of the Civil War. Its battlefields are as distant, its events as legendary, and its heroes as impersonal to them as Bunker Hill and Lexington, as Washington and Lafayette. For them such celebrations as this are the universities of patriotism and schools for the inculcation of the inestimable value and incalculable blessings of our national union. There is no animosity, there are no heart-burnings, there is no revival of revengeful feelings by the recital of this story. The son of the

Confederate soldier can point with pride to the superb valor of his father, and rejoice with the son of the Union veteran, as citizens of a common country, in the result which gives to both the equal and unequaled blessings of citizenship of the American Union.

Soldiers' homes are not for the generals or the colonels, but they are the asylums where a grateful people will and must smooth the declining years of the private soldier. Events crowd upon each other so rapidly that the fame of to-day is obliterated by the reputation of to-morrow. With few exceptions, names which thirty years ago were as familiar as household words, are no longer known. As I go through the great national cemeteries, the proud monuments erected to the heroes who led the troops to victory do not impress me so much as the pile of somber granite which has inscribed upon it, "To the unknown dead." The beautiful tribute of a great poet to the common soldiers making a famous charge was:

> "Theirs not to reason why;
> Theirs but to do and die."

But behind every musket in the Union Army was a thinking man. The volunteer had enlisted to fight for a principle and to die, if need be, to prevent the dissolution of the Union. He did reason why, and he did do and die to win by his valor the cause whose justice and right he so well understood.

A few years ago in a museum at Athens I saw the busts and statues of the famous generals of Greece. They had been found in exploring the ruins of the ancient temples. But recently there had been discovered a slab upon which had been carved in bas-relief the full-sized figure of the soldier who ran the twenty-six miles from Marathon to Athens to carry the news of the victory which had saved his country, and who, as he voiced it to his countrymen, dropped dead. Three thousand years have elapsed since the message of that soldier proclaimed to the world a triumph of civilization over barbarism, of which we to-day in distant America enjoy the fruits. That venerable monument lives and will continue to express the unselfish valor and patriotism of the common soldier.

Cæsar and his legions battled for the conquest of the world; Napoleon fought to conquer Europe, while Frederick the Great

and Marlborough and all the great generals of ancient and modern times led their armies to buttress thrones or subdue peoples. The Grand Army of the Republic marched and fought and bled and died, not for conquest or fame, not for pelf or power, but to free the enslaved. Julia Ward Howe, in her battle hymn, expresses their ideas:

"In the beauty of the lilies
Christ was born across the sea,
As He died to make men holy,
Let us die to make men free."

These early days of June are full of patriotic memory. Thirty-five years ago the four weeks from the 12th of May to the 12th of June decided the fate of Missouri, the future of St. Louis, and, to a large extent, the destiny of the Republic. The streets of this beautiful and prosperous capital of the Mississippi Valley are now full of vehicles of commerce, crowds of prosperous people and marching clubs, carrying the banners of party favorites in the peaceful and emulous strife for party victory. But thirty-five years ago the drum beats of war were heard in this town and hostile armies were encamped upon the borders of St. Louis. The question which any day might decide, which was upon every lip and blanching every cheek, was, "Shall Missouri cast her lot with the Union or join the Confederacy?" Had she joined the Confederacy, the war would have been prolonged, her territory would have been the camping grounds and battlefields of the Union and Confederate armies, her farms would have been devastated, her industries destroyed, her cities laid waste, and the prosperity of St. Louis set back half a century. This calamity, beyond the power of imagination to picture or words to describe, was prevented, Missouri saved and St. Louis rescued by the foresight, the patriotism and the indomitable courage of your great citizen, Frank Blair. It was fortunate that he should have for his right arm that gallant soldier and hero, Captain Lyon. It often happens in the story of empires that small events count for more in their results than the greatest battles. Captain Lyon's seizure of Camp Jackson will be reckoned by the future historian as one of the decisive conflicts of the Civil War. Every State preserves for the inspiration of its citizens the memory of the men who have made it or saved it,

and the Missouri trinity will be Frank Blair, General Lyon and General Sigel.

It requires only a brief contemplation of American battlefields to illustrate the madness or the idiocy of the statesmen who would frighten us by the dangers which they claim threaten our security or peace from foreign assault or foreign invasion. Thirty thousand American soldiers conquered Mexico, with twelve millions of inhabitants. It was American bravery, intelligence and dash. Three millions of people threw off the yoke of the British Government, though England was mistress of the seas and the arbiter of Europe. Hooker's men stormed the almost impregnable heights of Lookout Mountain, and won a victory above the clouds, while Pickett's brigade of the Confederate Army hurled themselves with unavailing valor upon the breastworks and died under the murderous fire of the batteries of Meade at Gettysburg. There is in the United States to-day a reserve of ten millions of fighting men. They are the same stock, with the same bravery and the same unconquerable spirit as those who fought from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, who won the victory under Jackson at New Orleans, who followed Scott and Taylor into Mexico, and stormed the heights of Chapultepec, and marched triumphantly into the city of the Montezumas. They are of the same stock and spirit, the same courage and fearlessness of death as the soldiers who won the admiration of the French and English officers on the staffs of General Grant and General Lee in those conflicts of the Civil War, where five hundred thousand men died in battle. Those soldiers require no standing Army for their safety, no expensive, exhausting and threatening militarism for the salvation or the defense of their country. They will take care of that themselves. It is for us to preserve the glorious heritage for which these men died or were wounded, or are now maimed and helpless in our midst. Our duty is to care tenderly and piously for the survivors of the Grand Army, to carry out in policy, in principle and in practice the ideas for which they fought. Their triumph gave to the Republic the new South. It substituted for the old oligarchy and slavery the superb development which comes with individual enterprise and free labor. The new South is redeeming its wildernesses for population and homes; it is reclaiming its waste lands for the varied productions of its fructifying climate. It

is bringing out the exhaustless treasures of its mountains and hills; it is establishing manufactories, founding cities and adding its quota to the majesty, the power and the greatness of the United States. We must be true and faithful in safeguarding the ballot-box and the right of the citizen to deposit his vote and have it honestly recorded. We must be courageous in fighting the madness of the hour or the errors which increase with business depression and hard times, and go with our party into temporary defeat, if need be, for the preservation of the national credit, and those principles of sound finance and practice common with the commercial nations of the world, and which alone can keep us solvent, prosperous and progressive. From Columbus to the *Mayflower,* from the *Mayflower* to Washington and the Declaration of Independence, from Washington and the Declaration of Independence to Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation are the stepping stones of American liberty and modern development. The crowning blessing of this majestic evolution is that American citizenship which is the common heritage of us all.

SPEECH TO ST. LOUIS LADIES

SPEECH TO THE LADIES IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE SOUTHERN HOTEL,[1] ST. LOUIS, ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 15, 1896.

LADIES: After an effort of an hour in the great Convention Hall I am too tired to make a speech, especially as I have been all the evening trying to reach and interest an audience of ten thousand people. But who can resist the call of the ladies? I never have been able to yet, and what is more I never want to be able to. I am only waiting for that call to be concentrated and for her to speak.

You are not delegates to this convention officially, but unofficially you are the convention. As the wives and sisters of the gentlemen who are to nominate the candidates and make the platform which we believe the country will adopt, your influence is potent both for candidates and principles. Instructed as I am by my own State for its favorite son, and loyal to his success, I nevertheless feel the depressing influence of the great mass of the women here who are captured by the brilliant career in the field and in Congress of the gallant statesman of Ohio. We, of New York, always do our best for our man and then go home to carry the Empire State for the ticket. We carry back no heartburnings, no revenges, no envies, no matter what may be the outcome of the convention.

We hear much about the woman in politics, and the discussion is never ending whether she should be legally there. My experience is that woman is always in politics; it is pre-eminently her sphere. I do not mean practical politics of caucuses and conventions, but real politics which govern countries. The salons of a succession of brilliant women have governed France for two centuries. The parlors of Washington are the seats of power. When the question is a moral one, or when the issue is gravely patriotic, involving the existence of the country, then the best canvassers and the most inspiring speakers—not upon the plat-

[1]Mr. Depew, returning from delivering the oration in Convention Hall in aid of the Soldiers' Home, was stopped in the rotunda of the Southern Hotel by a crowd of ladies who demanded a speech.—*Ed.*

form, but in every home—are the women. The women are the hope of the Republican Party; they are imbued with its principles and inspired by its history. To them the story of its past is linked through loved ones who marched and fought for their country with the best of family traditions and family glory.

I was crossing the plains to the Pacific Coast a few years ago. The train stopped at a station in Wyoming, the State where women have the right to vote. The people on the platform recognized me and in the free and off-hand Western way came up and gave me hospitable greeting. Then one said: "Mr. Depew, maybe you will run for President some day, and if so, as we have female suffrage in Wyoming, you ought to know the ladies." And so the women were called and I was introduced. I said to one little woman as she stood beside her gigantic husband, "Do as many women as men vote, in proportion to their numbers, in this State?" "More," she answered. "Well, do you ladies generally vote as your husbands wish or as your husbands command?" Like the snapping of a bear trap she shot out, "Not much," and then she seemed to grow to gigantic proportions, while, amidst the laughter of the crowd, her giant husband became a pigmy.

You ladies are more speculative than we; you are more intense partisans and greater optimists. You believe that what you believe must ultimately be the accepted faith, because you have no doubt as to its being the truth, and you believe that the party of your choice must win because it is the right party.

Let me indulge in a little prediction. Our country is now the financial storm center of the world. It has been the storm center of liberty and liberty won. It has been the storm center of independence and independence won. Now that it is the storm center of clashing opinions upon those financial principles upon which depend the prosperity of a country, I believe that the principles which place our country in harmony with the great commercial nations of the world will win. No other party but the Republican Party professes those principles; no other party but the Republican Party will declare those principles. We will go to the country from this convention staking everything upon the gold standard. We will win or fall by that issue. But as sure as truth lives, as sure as the right prevails, as sure as God has the destinies of this country in his hands and is to work

out in the future as He has worked out in the past within its borders the problems of happiness for humanity, so sure is it that the candidates to be nominated by this convention and the principles to be there adopted—the old principles of the Republican Party—with unalterable devotion to sound finance also in the platform, will carry the country.

When next I meet you, ladies, I trust it will be at Washington, when we shall be viewing the presidential procession marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, the hero of it the Republican candidate, the nominee of this St. Louis convention, triumphantly elected by the people.

ELECTRICAL EXPOSITION

ADDRESS AT THE ELECTRICAL EXPOSITION,[1] GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, MAY 15, 1896.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The fables of antiquity are the facts of to-day. The piety, genius and learning of the ancient world ascribed to the gods of Olympus marvelous achievements in rapid transit, the transmission of intelligence, and the metamorphosis of matter. These wonders of the imagination were the inspiration of the ancients in their religion, their literature, and their life, and to them the poetry, eloquence and philosophy of the modern world are largely indebted. Though the high intelligence and superb culture of Greece and Rome remained blindly superstitious before the miracles of mythology, Jupiter and Hercules, Apollo and Minerva are commonplace persons when compared with Morse and Edison, with Bell and Tesla.

History is a dreary record of the conflicts of ambition and power, and the horrors, the desolations and the devastations and the miseries created by war. While for thousands of years the antagonisms and energies of the rulers and leaders of mankind have been concentrated upon policies and actions which destroyed the possibilities of happy and comfortable living upon this planet for the masses of the people, the present century is distinct and distinguished, not only in winning plaudits for making two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, but for rendering it possible for millions to subsist in comfort and lead happy lives, where thousands had dwelt in poverty and ignorance.

The imagination is paralyzed and the mind appalled in contemplating the endless centuries during which the boundless treasures God and nature had stored for the uses of mankind were left undiscovered and unknown. It was reserved for the nine-

[1]Before delivering his address Mr. Depew sent the following message around the world, over a distance of 27,500 miles: "God created, nature treasures, and science utilizes electrical power for the grandeur of nations and the peace of the world." The message made the circuit and returned to an instrument on the other side of the hall, over which Mr. Thomas A. Edison presided, in forty-seven minutes.—*Ed.*

teenth century and for the second half of it to wrest from the earth, the water and the air the potential and elemental powers which have rescued and regenerated the world.

There is a logical sequence in the processes of discovery. We must devoutly recognize that the cycles of time have been, with an all-wise Providence, years of preparation for the development which we celebrate. Without boasting or exaggeration, we place the demonstrations of the present against the results of the infinite past and gratefully say, "We are the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time." The earth yielded its coal when the water had developed steam, and the rude applications of iron evolved into the beneficent processes of Bessemer, while the electricity of the air was being harnessed by science.

Thales, of Miletus, found that by rubbing two pieces of amber together electricity was produced. The conclusion of the scientists of that period was that they had found a new property in amber. For the universities and the learned, electricity continued to be an interesting toy and a subject for experiment, and yet an unknown factor for the use of man from the time of this Greek philosopher down almost to our own day.

The most practical philosopher who ever lived was Benjamin Franklin. Theory and discovery were worthless in his judgment, unless they could be utilized for some beneficial purpose. He became familiar with all that was known of this mysterious agent, and instantly inquired, "From whence does it come and what can be done with it?" The kite, the string and the key in his hands wrested from nature her secret that the air encircling the globe is the exhaustless storage battery of electricity; that the thunder is its marching music and the lightning its untrained and undisciplined power. Scientists and experimenters, working upon Franklin's great discovery, continued groping in the dark until fifty-one years ago, when, in the presence of the doubting Congress at Washington and the incredulous people of the country, Morse flashed over the wire line between the capital and Baltimore the first message ever instantaneously transmitted, the first practical application of Franklin's kite and key, this beautiful and concentrated epigram, "What God hath wrought." It had taken all the intervening time, from Adam, talking to Eve in the Garden of Eden over love's telegraph of leaves, until Morse's wire, to utilize electricity. But the energy of this lib-

erated and educated spirit of the air stimulated the human brain to limitless endeavor and miraculous achievement. Ten years elapsed, and then, under the Atlantic Ocean, was sent over the cable from the Queen of Great Britain to the President of the United States the message of friendship and peace between the English-speaking nations of the world. Twenty years later the telephone, lengthening the lovers' telegraph from feet to miles, has annihilated space for the sacred confidences of the family and the negotiations of business.

The Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian stories are revealed to us in the gigantic monuments whose inscriptions scholars have deciphered. The beauty and the height of Grecian civilization, art and literature are embodied in a dead language. The rise, the rule for thousands of years and the fall of Rome are condensed in a few volumes upon the shelves of the libraries. These events covered unnumbered centuries, and yet, in the humanization, the elevation, the civilization and the happiness of the people of the earth, they did little compared with the accomplishments of inventive genius during these four marvelous decades. The electric telegraph in 1845, the cable in 1856 and the telephone in 1876 are part of its victories. We can only measure the results of these inventions by estimating their influence upon commerce, transportation and the material development of nations, and the effect upon governments and peoples of instantaneous communication with each other. Thirty years ago there were seventy-five thousand miles of wire in the United States; to-day there are a million miles. Thirty years ago five millions of messages were annually transmitted by telegraph; now there are sixty millions. In a quarter of a century the receipts of the telegraph companies have increased from seven millions to twenty-five millions of dollars per year. Since the opening of the telegraph the imports and exports of the United States have grown from two hundred and twenty millions to sixteen hundred millions of dollars, while the internal commerce of the country, from about a thousand millions, has reached the fabulous figure of twenty-five billions of dollars a year.

Said the great English scientist, Sir William Thompson, at our Centennial Exposition in 1876, after he had examined the telephone, "What yesterday I should have declared impossible, I have to-day seen realized." In twenty years the use of the

telephone has become such a necessity in our daily life that the mileage of the telephonic wires has increased to six hundred thousand miles, and the number of telephones to seven hundred thousand. Nothing more distinctly illustrates the truth of the charge that the Americans are a talking people than the statistics of this wonderful instrument, for during the past year there were had over the telephone wires of the United States alone six hundred and seventy millions of conversations, and yet the telephone is only partially developed.

Time will permit only a brief suggestion of the rapid introduction of electricity into every department of industry. It furnishes power for the mill and the machine shop; it is the motor for the railway carriage; it heats and it cools; it forges and it welds, and it extracts from the most stubborn ores ordinary minerals and precious metals. In our practical age the dividing line between the scientific toy and profitable power is the cost of production. The price of coal limits the possibilities of settlement and the growth of cities. Industries and their development are dependent upon steam and electricity, and the generation of these forces upon coal. The most superb agricultural opportunities of the world are upon the Pacific Coast, but the varied industries necessary for the support of a large population do not thrive there because the black diamond has not been discovered in the Sierra Nevada or the Sierra Madre.

This Exposition illustrates another beneficent advance in electrical development. It suggests an opportunity of escape from territorial limitations of coal, and the prohibitive cost of transportation. Wherever there are mountians and lakes there is water-power. That this power can generate electricity has been known, but its usefulness has been handicapped, because the mill and factory could not be readily transplanted. The most sublime concentration of continuing force in the world is Niagara Falls. After the unveiling of the statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, which had been presented to us by the French Republic, I took the representatives of the French Government to Niagara Falls. When they saw it, their feelings were aptly expressed by Admiral Jouett, who exclaimed, with dramatic earnestness, "I have seen all the natural wonders of the globe, and this surpasses them all! If there shall ever be an exhibition of the universe, when the stars and planets contribute

their best, the earth will send Niagara Falls!" We are here four hundred and fifty miles from Niagara, and witnessing that the power generated there can be transmitted here. It is a demonstration of incalculable value. It will redeem the waste places of the world. The tumbling torrent will become the treasure house of nations. Wherever water flows electrical power may be generated, which, transmitted great distances, will create the mill, the factory and the furnace, and give that employment to capital and labor, which relieves the farmhouse of its surplus of boys and girls, and gives the farm its profitable market in a neighboring seat of population and industry.

The next feat of electricity, now almost accomplished, is to be its use in transportation. It is to accelerate the speed and increase the comfort of the passenger train, and to reduce the cost for revolving the wheels of the freight car; it is to be the substitute for the horse, for agriculture and the road-wagon; it is to furnish the light for dwelling and factory, for hospital and highway; it is to give the heat for cooking and for comfort; it is to be the power for the machinery of the mill and the press of the newspaper; it is to be the motor for transportation by land and sea.

Thirty years ago I was appointed United States Minister to Japan. That country had just been opened to the commerce of the world. Its government was a pure feudalism, and of the type of the period of Louis XI. The feudal lords had their armies and their castles, and the tillers of the soil were little better than slaves. To-day Japan is governed by a constitutional monarchy and a congress of the representatives of the people. It has an enlightened press, railroads, trolley cars and electric lights. Then its army fought with spears and bows and arrows, and its soldiers were clad in armor. To-day it has one of the most efficient navies, and best trained and most effective armies in the world. It has utilized every advance in modern warfare, and in its attack upon China demonstrated that upon land and sea the army and navy of Japan are equal to those of the most advanced of the warlike nations of Europe. Japan is a superb illustration of this age of electricity. It took six hundred years for Europe to advance from feudalism to constitutional liberties and parliamentary government, and from armor and lance to the torpedo and the machine gun. Japan has ac-

complished the same progress in a little over a quarter of a century.

The myriad-minded Shakespeare, poet and seer, saw, as in a vision, the triumphs of inventive genius. "The glorious sun stays in his course and plays the alchemist," was his prophecy of photography, and, in his famous phantasy, "I'll put a girdle around the earth in forty minutes," he predicted the wonders of the telegraph. But the plain prose of modern invention and discovery has surpassed the wildest dream of the dramatist. We have more than girdled the globe by our circuit of twenty-seven thousand, five hundred miles, and the electric current carrying its message has run this course in forty-seven minutes.

The familiars and the masters who have most beneficently yoked this mysterious power to the car of human progress are Franklin and Morse, and Edison and Bell, and Tesla and Brush, and Westinghouse. The scientists of Europe have contributed many and invaluable discoveries to the development of electricity, but in its practical application and utilization for the common purposes of life, and the grander march of civilization, America takes the lead.

MANHATTAN DAY AT WORLD'S FAIR

ADDRESS AT THE CELEBRATION OF "MANHATTAN DAY" AT THE WORLD'S FAIR, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 21, 1893.

MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: One of the most interesting as well as important incidents of this mammoth and marvelous exhibition has been the celebrations, National, State and Civic. While the governments of Europe are imposing additional burdens upon already overburdened peoples to increase their great military and naval forces; while all the world outside of the United States is either an armed camp or engaged in active hostilities, these emulous and friendly meetings of conflicting races within these walls demonstrate the possibilities and illustrate the hopes of the world for civilization and peace. Great Britain and Russia, Germany and France, Italy and Austria may through their governors and their armies and navies be prepared for wars of extermination across the Atlantic, but on this side and within the gates of the White City each of them rejoices in the triumphs of the other and applauds its efforts in the celebration of any excellence or advance in the industrial arts.

The influence of this commingling of races upon the lofty plane of human achievement and progress, of the commingling of clashing creeds in the Congress of Religions, carried by representatives here present to all parts of the habitable globe, must result in nobler aspirations and greater efforts for the friendship of nations and the harmony of the world.

Our interests as a Republic have been specially concentrated in the celebrations of the several States of the Union. When Illinois or Pennsylvania, Ohio or Wisconsin, Kansas or Missouri, California or Oregon, Georgia or South Carolina or any of the newer sisters of the West have done their best, the exhibit of their excellence and development has sent thrills of honest pride and joy through the Empire State of New York. It has been a pride and joy shared by all the States when each one has demonstrated its claims for distinction and exhibited its growth. The lesson has been enforced over and over again until it has

become the morning and evening salutation in every household in this broad land, that we are one people, the citizens of one great Republic, and that whatever there is in any department of civilization or liberty which constitutes the peculiar merit of any State is the common property of all the commonwealths of the American Union.

In this glorious festival and generous rivalry it was eminently fit that Chicago should take the lead. The 700,000 of her sons and daughters who passed through the gates of the White City on "Chicago Day" were the living witnesses of the indomitable courage, the unfailing enthusiasm, the comprehensive wisdom and the brilliant genius which conceived and executed upon such superb lines by a world's exposition the celebration of the four hundredth year of the discovery of America. No such multitude ever before was gathered upon a civic occasion within the walls of the temporary abiding place of a Fair dedicated to industry and art. Properly concentrated and distributed they would form a constituency sufficiently large to be represented in the United States Senate by enough senators to block the wheels of legislation and stop the movement of Government for the next century. I will not pretend to predict how many would have been within the boundaries of the Fair on New York Day had this exhibition gone to New York. Figures are too commonplace and imagination is unequal to the task. But New York was as proud and as happy as Chicago at this magnificent demonstration of interest, intelligence, and municipal pride in her sister city. Without stint, without limit, without reserve New York has felt an ever increasing admiration for the results on these grounds of Chicago's pluck and power.

We entered into the contest with Chicago seeking to have the World's Fair located in New York. I speak within bounds when I say there is to-day no one in New York who is not glad that Chicago succeeded in that struggle. There is no one in New York who fails to appreciate the burden which was assumed and the sacrifices necessary to carry it to completion.

With a thousand miles to traverse each way we could not be expected to bring here our hundreds of thousands of visitors but I speak authoritatively for the three millions of people who constitute the metropolis in conveying to Chicago their cordial congratulations upon her unequaled success in this great under-

taking. The world needed a demonstration of what the American people in a new country, under new conditions and without traditions could accomplish, and they have had it. Not only has this exhibition excited the interest of all nations and tribes of men, but the wonderful gathering of seven hundred thousands of the citizens of a single city only fifty years of age to show their confidence in their town and their welcome to its guests has been the talk of London and Paris, of Vienna and Berlin. It has been discussed under the shadow of the Pyramids and has accelerated thought and action on the banks of the Ganges.

There is no rivalry and can be none, between New York and Chicago. New York is misunderstood because she has got so big that she has passed beyond the possibility of exhibiting her interests or enthusiasm. Things happen in New York every day and pass unnoticed which take rank with cyclones and earthquakes in other places. At the time when the press of this country and abroad was filled with the prodigious growth of the towns of the West and Northwest, there was a development going on in real estate west of Central Park which in increase of population, in the cost of construction of buildings and enhancement of value of land was greater than in any three or four of the booming towns of the country.

The period of the rivalry of cities in the United States has passed; the period of the competition of municipalities for competitive trade has gone by. The prodigious development of the internal commerce of the country and the equally remarkable increase of transportation facilities to meet it have thrown upon the great cities of the United States opportunities and responsibilities greater than they can manage. It was possible twenty-five years ago for one great city by increasing by liberal appropriations its rail and water communications, to side-track a rival. But that day has gone by. The depopulation of the country and the overcrowding of the city present to each municipality problems of employment and support which unsolved are dangerous to peace and property, and whose solutioners are not yet in sight. The genius of the American people for government will meet and overcome those perils, but at present they confine the energies of municipalities within their own limits.

The United States, stretching as it does from ocean to ocean, requires two commercial capitals, one for the coast and the other

for the interior. The capital on the coast, which must necessarily be the capital of the continent, has been fixed for half a century. The capital of the interior has been located by this Fair. Chicago is to be the center for gathering the products of the fields and of the mines, and New York the reservoir for their distribution through the country and abroad.

New York can afford to exercise the quality for which she is distinguished of recognizing and applauding the merits of Boston and Philadelphia, of Chicago and St. Louis, of New Orleans and San Francisco. She is proud of Duluth and Kansas City, of Portland, Ore., and Portland, Me. She knows that by the attractions of gravitation and opportunity which have made London and Paris, the best products of literature, of the professions, of the arts, of the dramatic and of the lyric stage seek fame and fortune in New York. She knows that she is, and every year will become more potentially, the literary and financial center of the North American and South American continents. Every university, every thriving community, every condition of remarkable enterprise anywhere in the United States is a nursery for New York. The intellectual and material development, the growth and progress of any part of the country, while creating States and cities, are also creating new sources of wealth and power for the cosmopolitan city of the New World.

All hail Chicago, All hail New York!

NEW YORK BUILDING AT WORLD'S FAIR

SPEECH AT THE DEDICATION OF NEW YORK'S BUILDING, AT THE WORLD'S FAIR, CHICAGO, 1892.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Florence of the Middle Age, in the splendor of her art, the extent of her learning, the spread of her commerce, and the liberty of her citizens was the electric light which illumined an age that had been shrouded in intellectual and spiritual darkness. The enterprise of her merchants, and the audacity of her sailors had penetrated so far beyond what was known of the surface of the earth as to indicate vague possibilities across the seas. Florence created the conditions which made possible our Columbus. It is eminently fitting that New York in selecting the model Fair building at this great exhibition should have looked to Florence for her lesson, and that it should express the best ideals of the Renaissance. New York stands to the American Continent in much the same position as did Florence to Europe in the fifteenth century, only her leadership is more difficult, and more constantly contested. It was not very hard to be first when all was ignorance, superstition and despotism. But in our Republic, culture and learning, commercial activities and all which constitutes the pride of cities and the power of States are so universally distributed among the commonwealths which form our Nation that to be the leader among such splendid examples of progress and development is indeed a rare distinction. Our metropolis is the center of the intellectual, the artistic, the financial, and the industrial activities of the New World. Our State justifies her imperial title by continuing to be the greatest in population, in manufacture, in agriculture, and in commerce. We have already shown our appreciation of the great discovery and the discoverer by the splendid pageant which filled our harbor and our streets during the past week. The parade of the school children illustrated the unequaled blessings of civil and religious liberty. It demonstrated the cordiality of our hospitality to the exile from foreign lands, and the absorbing and assimilating power of our institutions. The Jew and the Gentile, the Catholic and the Protestant of every shade of creed,

the Atheist and the Infidel, the Agnostic and the Pagan, receiving a free education from the State, marching under the same flag, keeping step to the same music, the flag of the Republic and the music of the Union, demonstrated the beneficent influences of American liberty. They were prophetic of perpetuity of institutions founded upon just and equal laws. They exhibited that marvelous process by which the raw materials of Europe and Asia, when placed in the crucible of American liberty, develop patriotism and enlightened citizenship. The great steamships of commerce and the armored battleships of our new Navy as they proudly plowed through our harbor and Hudson and saluted with salvos of artillery, the memory of the discoverer demonstrated the advance in navigation, commerce and the inventions since 1492. Their greater significance was that the finding of the New World had emancipated the mind and soul of man. But the national tribute paid by their guns to the American flag was recognition of the historic fact that the people of the great Republic had utilized for their own happiness and the benefit of the world the inestimable advantages of the new Continent, and the Naval procession told the story in object lesson of the evolution of modern civilization which had been incited by the success of the little fleet of Christopher Columbus. The million or more of happy, contented and prosperous men, women and children who viewed the parade of the citizen soldiery, mingled with their pride in this suggestive exhibition of our resources of war a deep and lasting gratitude for the event of which the day was dedicated.

There will be gathered during the next year in this beautiful park the citizens of every State of our Union, the representatives of the sister Republics of North and South America and of the Dominion of Canada, and visitors from all the nations of the globe. Some will find here hospitality in their nation's structures; others whose countries have no houses will be homeless. The New Yorker coming from any part of our State, or attracted from abroad to this spot, as he passes the portals of this building will recognize the infinite hospitality which characterizes the commonwealth of his birth or adoption, and will also feel in these appointments, surroundings and occupants, that, though far from his residence, he is at home.

Through her Governor and State officers, through the Com-

mission appointed by our Legislature to see that our State was properly represented at this great Exposition, we open this building, and place it under the administration of the officers of the World's Fair. We believe that New Yorkers will recognize in its architecture and appointments something worthy of their State, and foreigners will have their attention called to the marvelous growth of our great commonwealth. Should the European ask for a condensation in statement or in picture of the benefits of the discovery of America, and the resultant and greater benefits of the Declaration of American Independence, we would take him through this building. We would say to him, "This structure represents but one of the forty-four States of the American Union." New York contributes every year more for the education of its people, more in charity and benevolence for the relief of the helpless, the injured and the maimed, has greater facilities for the transportation of its citizens and their products, is further advanced in the arts, in the sciences, and in the inventions, possesses greater wealth, more extensive and valuable commerce, could raise and put into the field a more efficient Army, and upon the seas a more powerful Navy than all Europe could have done at the time Columbus sailed from Palos. When Abelard, that brilliant teacher and unfortunate genius of the Dark Ages began to teach, thousands of students from every country gathere about him. They were eager to learn, and to know the truths which had been so long denied them. Here on the shores of this great lake, within this enclosure, and in these great buildings will be an International University. Peoples of all the earth will flock to it, and its teachings will be felt for all time to come in every corner of the globe. It will instruct the American first of all in the greatness, the glory, the productiveness and the possibilities of his own country; but it will teach him also the needed lessons that other nations possess their own peculiar excellencies and have also made great advances in the arts and in liberty. As each race presents here its developed resources, and shows in what respect it may be superior to all others, the sum of human perfection gathered from its many centers will become the common property of all the world. By the glorious memory of Peter Stuyvesant and his successors in the gubernatorial office, by the cosmopolitan spirit of our city, by the broad hospitality of our State which has always welcomed the immigrant, and edu-

cated him to our standards, and conferred on him our citizenship, and on behalf of my associates in the Commission, I give this building to the uses of the Fair during its existence. Afterward, I trust it may be the home and dwelling place of our New York spirit, and the club of our people who have settled in the West.

DEPEW OPERA HOUSE

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION AND OPENING OF THE DEPEW OPERA HOUSE, PEEKSKILL, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 15, 1892.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: For the first time in Peekskill, I feel that I am occupying a superfluous position. You are here to see the play and I am detaining you from the purpose for which you came. But the players will understand that the impatience of the audience will have whetted its appetite for the feast which they are to give.

This is, indeed, a red letter night for old Peekskill. It is one which would have astonished the oldest inhabitant so that his wits would have been accelerated to that degree of modern speed where he would have been gathered to his ancestors. To-night marks that Rip Van Winkle of Peekskill has passed away and the village has taken its place in the modern procession.

When we dedicated, or rather laid, the corner-stone of this Hall two years ago, sanguine as were our hopes of what might be the result, none of us supposed or pictured in his mind's eye an auditorium so vast as that in which we are gathered to-night. On behalf of the village and my fellow-citizens, I congratulate the Board of Trustees—the President of the Board, who, I understand, has had the best day to-day that he has had in six months—and the architect, who has entirely satisfied everybody.

This Hall is to be, in the future, the scene of the intellectual, of the busy, of the political, of the social life of our town. A village, or a city, or a municipality, reckons its history, not by its years, but by the men and the women whom it educates, whom it trains, whom it sends out in the world, or who remain to constitute its society. We have here the best educational institutions in the State for boys and for girls, but they do not constitute the intellectual, living life of the town. Six weeks ago, or rather four weeks ago, I was in a German village which was roped in, fenced around, white-washed overhead and finished three hundred years ago. As an antiquarian specimen it was delightful. The houses were of an older age, and the inhabitants looked of the same age.

Its story was not in the books, not in its activities, not in its social life, but in the inscriptions on the grave-stones in the cemetery.

Since I have been home, I have been in the typical booming town of yesterday; new houses, new streets, new factories, new foundries, new mills, everybody intent on the dollar rolling over and accumulating with the greatest rapidity. Its life was in the bank, in its hopes—and in its debts. Neither of these, however, represented what I call the living intellectual life of a municipality. Peekskill is a representative New York town. It is not an Illinois institution nor a Nebraska institution; it is not a New England institution, but it is a typical, old-fashioned Knickerbocker Dutch institution.

I was sitting one night at dinner beside Governor Oglesby, of Illinois. Said he: "Where were you born?" "In Peekskill." Said he: "Where's that? Where was your father born?" "In Peekskill." "And your grandfather?" "In Peekskill." "And your great-grandfather?" "In Peekskill." "And your great-great-grandfather." "In Peekskill." Said he: "I don't believe a word of it. There isn't such a case in the State of Illinois."

Peekskill, for the first hundred and twenty-five or thirty years of its existence, represented the society described by Washington Irving in his veracious chronicle of the early history of New York. It was births, it was deaths, it was marriages, it was people who lived comfortably and had enough and to spare of the material things of this world; who were roystering blades in their youth, comfortable merchants and farmers in middle life, and smoked the pipe of peace in good old age; but there was not, in that hundred and fifty years, aught that constitutes real growth, or real history, or real reputation of a place like this.

Then came the roar and the thunders of the Revolutionary War, and this sleepy old town was awakened instantly from its sleep of nearly a century and a half, by being placed, on the one hand, on the border of the neutral ground, and on the other hand as the outpost of the patriot forces at West Point. Here became the headquarters, in the old house which stood when I was a boy at the head of Main Street, of Washington, where he passed many a day and many a night. And here is the spot, tradition tells us, where Burr, when a very young man, paid first those attentions to a Peekskill belle which afterwards made him the terror of the women of America. Here Alexander Hamilton learned the arts

of war, and musing in that great mind of his, in that old head upon young shoulders, in the picturesque halls of this most beautiful spot on earth, he devised that spirit of government which to-day crystallizes into the government of the Republic of the United States. The soldier shot at the old spring beside the road, whose blood reddening its waters made it a fountain of patriotism ever since, and the spirit which presided over the other old spring down Main Street made its drops so precious to the Peekskill boy who drank them that, wherever he wandered, there was no place like home.

Then for half a century after the successful termination of the Revolution and the creation of the independence of the United States, the life of this town was a life of vengeful recollections and no purpose. When I was a boy, the constant talk of my grandfather and father was: Never have any business transactions with such a family; never become interested in or marry the girl in such a family; never believe and never trust such a name, because their father or grandfather was a tory in the Revolutionary War, and for fifty years Peekskill lived in the memories of the vengeance and vendetta of that struggle, rendered more terrible here than anywhere else, because it was on the borders of that dreaded neutral ground.

Then came that rumbling which afterwards rent and tore our country—the slavery agitation. Our village was probably the most pro-slavery town in the State, in proportion to the numbers of the people. It was probably because of the conservatism of our ancestors that there were not brought upon our platforms the intellectual resources of that period. But it was the younger element which brought to our midst the elder Parkhurst, the Wendell Phillipses, the William Lloyd Garrisons, the Ralph Waldo Emersons, the Henry Ward Beechers, but we had no place in which they could speak, no hall where they could address the people. Every one of them was without the pale of the conservative church, but the new civilization, the new fire of freedom awakened all the moral forces which had reached the young men of this town. They formed themselves into a literature committee and demanded that these giants of the platform be heard upon a Peekskill stage. They knew they were right and finally compelled those old, conservative institutions to throw open their doors to these mighty men of modern thought. I had never seen

such a commotion in my life, or the grave give up its dead and the ghosts walk forth in their white raiment, as when Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured. His subject was something on—well, no man there, except, perhaps, a few young men in the audience, knew what he was talking about, but the good old deacon, who had kept me awake for ten years by punching me in the back whenever I did not properly attend to the services, when I came out, shook his head and said: "I never expected to live to see the day to hear such frightful blasphemy as that wretch uttered to-night."

When thinking of these old reminiscences of Peekskill and what she was; when I think of all the great men who made this temporarily their home; when I remember how many historical scenes are connected with our town; when I think of her on this old hill, of whose rocks it is said that you can kick out a salute morning and evening, I feel the same sort of pride in the place that I witnessed in a Chicago man whom I met in Switzerland. I said to him: "Where have you been?" "Down the Rhine." "How did you like it?" "Talk about your Rhine. What's the use of it when we have the Hudson, the Mississippi, the Missouri!" "Well," said I, "how about the Alps?" "Talk about your Alps. They're nothing to the Rockies and the Sierras." "What about picture-galleries?" "Talk about your picture-galleries. Why, I wouldn't give them room anywhere for the old masters." "You were in Cologne. How about that magnificent cathedral?" "Well," he said, "to be sure, we have no church in Chicago as fine as the cathedral at Cologne, but they tell me that it took them twelve hundred years to build it, and we could put up something twice as big in Chicago in twelve months.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I do not think we appreciate precisely what this building means as yet. Here are to be gathered in the future the educational elements of Peekskill. Education comes to a community by absorption. It comes through the ear and through the eye. We have passed the regimen of the schools, but we must grow in our moral and intellectual activities. And grow how? The drama, music, eloquence, are coy beauties who must be wooed to be won. You cannot woo them in barns; you cannot woo them in garrets; you cannot woo them in hay-lofts. You must furnish them with the appointments which are consonant with their artistic creations. You must give them the inspira-

tion, for genius never works unless it has the incentive of inspiration.

There is no educator so good as the drama, properly presented. I have often said that, after a man passes forty years of age, he ceases to make friendships as warm as those in his youth, and the longer I go on in life the more I believe it. Thirty years ago, in the full flush of youth and young ambition, I met a young man of my own age, equally ambitious, equally active, equally determined upon winning the prizes of life. I formed with him then a friendship which has lasted until to-day, and will last until our lives end. When the newspapers announced that this opera-house was to be opened; when we were considering what would be the appropriate ceremonies with which it should be launched upon its career, I received a letter from that life-long friend, the mere announcement that in my home was to be opened an opera-house in which he presumed, as a resident and native of the town, I was interested, and he said: "My dear Chauncey: When that house opens, let me come and open it with my company. A. M. Palmer." And this house will be opened to-night by Mr. Palmer's unequaled company, which sets the standard for all the future. It sets it too high for us to expect it to be even reached, but it sets a standard for the future to strive at.

This will not only be the home of the drama, but it will be the home of song, and here the best voices of the world can be welcomed.

It will be the home of eloquence, and here the leaders of thought in social, in political, in moral reforms will meet to express their views.

And now I dedicate this building in the name of all that constitutes the human life of the human being, to the drama, to song, to the best eloquence, and to the good-fellowship of the municipality in which we live.

In the name of Shakespeare and of all the dramatists who have followed, I dedicate it to dramatic art.

In the name of Beethoven and of all the composers who have followed, I dedicate it to the Goddess of Music.

In the name of Daniel Webster, of Wendell Phillips, of Henry Ward Beecher, and all the great orators past, present and to come, either in pulpit, platform or arena, I dedicate it to free speech and free thought.

And in the name of good neighborhood, of all that tends to good-fellowship, of all that tends to the promotion of the welfare of a village and of a city, I dedicate it to the gathering of our people for every purpose, social, municipal, or reformatory, which shall be for the interests of dear old Peekskill.

MEETING OF COLONIAL DAMES

PAPER READ AT MEETING OF ORIGINAL COLONIAL DAMES, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 17, 1897.

LADIES: I deeply regret that a severe attack of the grippe prevents my filling the charming engagement made for me by Mrs. Burden for a brief address to the Colonial Dames this evening. But I venture to dictate a paper for some good friend to read, as a contribution to the evening's entertainment.

There is a charming likeness of her grandmother and her great grandmother reproduced in the Colonial Dame of to-day. The present dame is infinitely better educated, has opportunity for travel and observation, has comforts and luxuries wholly unknown to her ancestresses, but in the cycle of customs and habits she does each year more of the things which made the colonial matron and maid a model of health and household virtues. This Colonial Dame was a horsewoman of rarest skill and daring. She rode to the hounds, and her visits were mostly made on horseback. It is only within a few years that this athletic sport has come to be known among American ladies, at the close of the nineteenth century. Before the Revolutionary War the common method of entertainment was the house party. When the great colonial families were not in the city, their houses were full of guests, who came when they pleased, and stayed as long as they liked. In Virginia, especially, this open-house method of living attained such vogue that, at Monticello, Jefferson's house was never free from all it could possibly accommodate, and at Mt. Vernon, Washington's home was an equally favorite resort. These visitors not only left Jefferson no privacy, but they actually ate him out of house and home. It was no uncommon thing for a party of acquaintances, and not intimate friends, to arrive in a big coach, with their children and their servants, and remain for a month or two months at a time, while Mt. Vernon was the stopping-place of all visitors, foreign and native, journeying between Washington, Philadelphia, or New York and the South by way of the Potomac River. The house party in the colonial period made

the colonial home "Liberty hall." The day was given to excursions, horseback riding, hunting and fishing, and the evening to parlor games and dancing. The lawn tennis, the croquet and the golf were not required at a time when the woods were full of game and the streams stocked with fish. But when we compare the comforts of the colonial house with a well-appointed country house of to-day, our ancestresses lived in barbarian discomfort. There were no ranges, no water pipes, no hot and cold water, no bath rooms, no furnaces, no coal. The only method of heating was by wood, in the open fireplaces. The stove was long regarded by our muscular progenitors as an air-vitiator and death-dealer. Family and guests retired at night, to find the wood and fires burning out long before morning, and their bedrooms in arctic conditions before they arose. They lived exposed to draughts from the unequaled temperature of rooms and halls and bedrooms, and the bad carpentering of doors and windows, which would kill off the present generation in a week. Yet these hardy, healthy people, if they did come to maturity, were the survival of the fittest, and lived to vigorous old age. Their outdoor life inured them to hardships, and they rejoiced in temperatures which would have made us utterly wretched. The Colonial Dame was a good housekeeper, and she knew every detail of the management of her home and the efficiency of her servants. She was equally mistress of the kitchen and of the drawing-room, and she knew the stable by heart. She read very little, and did not rely upon her intellectuality or her culture to capture or hold her lover or husband, but she did capture and she did hold him, and the record of unhappy marriages is unprecedentedly small during the colonial period. Both she and her husband would have shunned as they would a pestilence the following typical lady of our own period:

"Here lies a poor woman who always was busy;
She lived under pressure that rendered her dizzy.
She belonged to ten clubs and read Browning by night
Showed at luncheons and teas, and would vote if she might,
She served on a school board with courage and zeal;
She golfed and she kodaked and rode on a wheel,
She read Tolstoi and Ibsen, knew microbes by name,
Approved of Delsarte, was a 'Daughter' and 'Dame,'

Her children went in for the top education;
Her husband went seaward for nervous prostration.
One day on her tablets she found an hour free
The shock was too great and she died instantlee."

It is so near the 22d of February that it will not be out of place to illustrate the colonial period by a free-hand picture of the life and habits of the unequaled and unapproachable hero of our Revolutionary period, General Washington. We have been accustomed to look upon Washington as so great by nature, so pure, so far above all weaknesses of humanity that it has been impossible for us to have that regard and affection for him which can only be possessed for those who are of like nature with ourselves. Happily for Washington's humanity, recent researches have given us a delightful insight into the private life and early years of our hero. All the books that have been written and the orations that have been made have demonstrated that it was through no fault of his that he was so great and good, because he was born and endowed with such supernatural virtue that he was never subject to the temptations which assail ordinary mortals. We wonder, as we read these stories and histories, whether the Colonial Dame was always on her knees before him and the Colonial Girl always praying for his smile. These late researches reveal that Washington was as intensely human as he was supremely great. He loved women, he was fond of sport, he was a great hunter, he was the best horseman of his age, he delighted in balls and parties, and was a famous dancer, he traveled hundreds of miles to witness a trial of speed between famous horses, and, in common with the universal habit of his time, took his chance in the lottery. While never a drunkard or intemperate in any way, he was a free liver and a generous and jovial host. He seems to have been unhappy in his early love scrapes. He was six feet two inches high, straight as an arrow, perfectly formed, except that he had phenomenally large hands and feet, and his face was pock-marked with the smallpox, which he got at Barbados. The Colonial Girl flirted recklessly with him, but never seemed to fall in love with him. He writes to one of his correspondents a letter from Lord Fairfax's, in which he says: "My place of residence is at present at his Lordship's, where I might, was my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there

is a very agreeable young lady living in the same house, but as that is only adding fuel to the fire, it makes me the more uneasy, for, by often and unavoidably being in company with her, revives my former passion for your lowland beauty, whereas was I to live more retired from young women, I might, in some measure, alleviate my sorrows by burying that which is a troublesome passion in the grave of oblivion or eternal forgetfulness, for, as I am very well assured, that is the only antidote or remedy that I shall be relieved by or only recess that can administer any cure or help to me." Who was this lowland beauty? is a mooted question which probably can never be decided. It has been discovered that he paid earnest attention to and his heart was deeply touched by Lucy Grymes, Mary Bland, Betsy Fauntleroy, and Alice Fairfax. Of all these, he was most absorbed in and devoted to Betsy Fauntleroy. He worshipped at her shrine for several years, until a rival carried her off.

Washington was the most industrious of correspondents, and in his letters revealed his most secret passions and desires. But though we know how tenderly he loved and how long he grieved over the loss of Betsy Fauntleroy, we are still in the dark as to who was the lowland beauty who seemed to take possession of his heart as soon as the charmer of the hour was driven or retired from its portals. After visiting one of these young ladies, he confided to his journal this poetry:

"Oh Ye Gods why should my
Poor Resistless Heart
Stand to oppose thy might and Power
At Last surrender to cupid's feathered Dart
And now lays Bleeding every Hour
For her that's Pityless of my grief and Woes
And will not on me Pity take.
He sleeps amongst my most inveterate Foes
And with gladness never wish to wake
In deluding sleepings let my eyelids close
That in an Enraptured Dream I may
In a soft lulling sleep and gentle repose
Possess those joys denied by Day."

At a later date he wrote to a Miss Alexander the following poem:

"From your bright sparkling Eyes I was undone;
Rays, you have, more transparent than the sun,
Amidst its glory in the rising Day
None can you equal in your bright array:
Constant in your calm and unspotted mind;
Equal to all but will to none Prove kind
So knowing, seldom one so Young you'll Find.
Ah! Woe's me, that I should Love and conceal
Long have I wished, but never dare reveal
Even though severely Loves Paines I feel,
Xeres that great, was't free from Cupid's Dart
And all the greatest Heroes, felt the smart."

He visited the Barbados, and in his journal records that he did not care much for the English ladies there, as, while they were generally agreeable, they affected the negro style. The letter which he wrote, some years afterwards, to William Fauntleroy, is one of the most affecting epistles in the annals of love. The letter read: "Sir.—I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurisy, but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cold sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor. I have enclosed a letter, which should be much obliged to you for the delivery of it." Alas for Betsy. She failed to forecast the future, and as the wife of a Virginia planter, lived to see her rejected lover become the greatest man of that or any other age. Washington became more popular with the ladies after his return from Braddock's defeat and the massacre. He had two horses shot from under him, and four bullets through his uniform, and had held steady his Virginia regiment when the veteran red-coated British soldiers had all run away. Every Virginia house, when he returned the hero of the hour, sent invitations to the gallant young soldier to come and visit. He was here and there and everywhere, but his heart was mortgaged beyond redemption to the proud beauty who would not smile upon him. One of these letters is from the Fairfax home. Three young ladies in the house party write him this letter, which shows his new-born popularity from Braddock's bloody field: "Dear Sir.—After thanking Heaven for your safe return, I must

accuse you of great unkindness in refusing us the pleasure of seeing you this night. I do assure you that nothing but our being satisfied that our company would be disagreeable should prevent us from trying if our legs would not cary us to Mt. Vernon this night. But if you will not come to us to-morrow morning very early we shall be at Mt. Vernon. Sally Fairfax, Ann Spearing, Elizabeth Dent." From the home of the Randolphs came another invitation, closing with the message that "Mrs. Cary and Miss Randolph join in wishing that sort of glory which will most endear you to the fair sex."

In order to settle the question of the regularity of his commission as Colonel, Washington made a journey to Boston. Beverly Robinson, a Virginian, had married Susanna Philipse, a daughter of Frederick Philipse, the patron of the great manor by the Croton. Robinson entertained his friend, now famous because of his gallantry at Fort Duquesne, at his house, and induced his wife to have her sister, Mary Philipse, as a guest at the same time. Here Washington's susceptible heart was subject to an entirely different charm from the English ladies in the Barbados, or the lovely Virginians of his native State. It was the Metropolitan girl—the New Yorker, as typical then as now. Self-possessed, traveled, with the experience of several seasons in the society of the largest city in the country, familiar with the attentions of British officers and titled fortune-hunters, a beauty and an heiress. The type was new to Washington, and he fell madly in love. But the proud and finical New York belle saw too many of the ways of the woodsman and the Indian fighter to allure her from the refinements of the metropolis to the seclusion of plantation life, and so she gave her hand and heart to Lieutenant-colonel Roger Morris, to become, with her Tory husband, during the Revolutionary War, a fugitive in England, while Washington, in the fortunes of revolution, made their house his headquarters during the campaign in New York. And again, in 1790, which was the second year of his Presidency, he records in his diary that he was a guest at a picnic—and, by the way, he was very fond of picnics—and that the dinner was provided by Mr. Marriner, at the house lately of Colonel Roger Morris, but confiscated and in the occupation of a common farmer.

Washington, however, two years after the Mary Philipse incident, met at a country house, Mrs. Martha Dandridge Custis.

She was a widow twenty-six years of age, and seven months of sorrow. She not only belonged to one of the most distinguished families, but she was the wealthiest woman in the colony of Virginia. Her sorrow was alleviated by the presence of two little angel Custises, Jack and Patsy. Washington wrote to his physician, on arriving at this country house in very bad health, that he considered himself a doomed man, and that he was expecting very soon his decay. This was on March 5, 1758. But the sick man left this hospitable home at Williamsburgh on April 1st, entirely recovered in his health, and engaged to the beautiful widow. We know very little of Mrs. Washington, except that she was petite, a brunette, very pretty, and couldn't spell. Washington destroyed all her letters to him on this account. Most of her letters which are in existence were written by Washington and copied by her. But she proved a good wife. She was a born lady, and had all the high instincts of a thoroughbred. Jefferson and Madison and Hamilton, who had met her, all seemed to be impressed with her limited intellectual attainments, and equally impressed with her perfect good breeding. Washington never wandered in his affection for her, and always alluded to her as the partner of all his domestic enjoyments. They lived happily together for forty years. In his last illness he lay for four hours at night with that chill which killed him, because he would not wake his wife and have her get up in the cold. This consideration for her put him almost beyond help when morning came. He was the most attentive of husbands. Fearing that she might overwork herself, with the multitude of guests that thronged Mt. Vernon, he secured a housekeeper. He saved her the trouble of ordering her own clothes to a large extent. He was a martinet on appearances and extremely particular both as to his own clothes and as to hers. He seems to have had some doubt as to the widow's fidelity when they were first engaged, for he records in that account book, in which, during his whole life, he put very scrupulously every expenditure, that he sent to Philadelphia for the ring and that it cost only two pounds, sixteen shillings. In the same book we find, among his orders to London for her, was a "salmon-colored tabby of the enclosed pattern, with satin flowers, to be made in a sacque, one cap, handkerchief, tucker and ruffles, to be made of brussels lace or point, proper to wear with the above negligee and to cost twenty pounds; one pair of black

and one pair of white satin shoes of the smallest, and one black mask." Another year he wrote his London agent: "Mrs. Washington sends home a green sacque to get cleaned or fresh dyed of the same color, made up into a handsome sacque again, would be her choice; but if the cloth won't afford that, then to be thrown into a gentile nightgown." When Washington became General of the Army, and the Army went into winter quarters, this good woman made the long and perilous journey from her home in Mt. Vernon and spent every winter in camp with her husband. She not only looked after him, but presided with grace and dignity at the headquarters table, where every general officer was welcome every day. By her kindness and attention to the sick soldiers, she did much to prevent the discontent of the Army under the great hardships which they endured, and to alleviate the sufferings of the sick. Both she and the General were passionately fond of dancing. During the war, at winter headquarters, they arranged assemblies on the subscription pattern, the same as those of Delmonico's, the Waldorf, and Sherry's, and they were called "assemblies." They had especially notable assemblies at Germantown, at Morristown and at Philadelphia. The Washingtons always arranged a winter assembly at Alexandria for the country farmers of Virginia. Mrs. Washington did not care much for these festivities, but she sacrificed herself because these parties relieved her husband from the tremendous strain to which he was subject, both as General of the Armies during the Revolution and as President of the United States during the formative period of the Republic. It was not uncommon with Washington at these assemblies to dance from ten o'clock until daylight. The one function which the man of to-day avoids is the afternoon tea. But Washington took great pleasure in this form of entertainment. He frequently had teas at his headquarters in camp, and while President, was often at such parties, both in New York and Philadelphia. His diary and letters refer to delightful teas at this or the other home, where he met twenty, or, at one time, seventy charming ladies. There is something in the adulation of women for a great man to which the coldest have not been insensible, and Washington was very susceptible. With these attractive and brilliant Colonial Dames pressing him to take another and just one more cup of tea, it is a wonder that he escaped nervous prostration. But his magnificent constitution

and horseback riding enabled him to endure this trying form of mild dissipation with ever increasing health and happiness. In large public receptions it is always difficult to induce a class who are determined to see it out to leave. The inclined plane devised for this purpose by Mrs. Washington was both simple and effective. She managed to confidentially inform the guests that the General always went to his study at nine o'clock, and that she retired soon after. Mr. and Mrs. Washington were very fond of the play, and went to the theatre very often. He loved to have a good company with him, and evidently he filled his box to its utmost capacity. We have found this entered in his diary while he was President: "Went to the play in the evening; sent tickets to the following ladies and gentlemen and invited them to seats in my box, viz.: Mrs. Adams (Lady of the Vice-president), General Schuyler and lady, Mr. King and lady, Major Butler and lady, Colonel Hamilton and lady, and Mrs. Green, all of whom accepted and came, except Mrs. Butler, who was indisposed." The General and his wife complained when in Philadelphia and New York that the social attentions were so pleasant that they dined out every night.

The presidential dinners of General Washington are described by his contemporaries as very formal affairs. They narrate that there was very little conversation, that all of the guests seemed awed by the majestic presence and great dignity of the host, that his efforts to break the silence and promote conversation met with very little response. One of the guests relates that at the close of one of these dinners, which was long, and, I judge, very dull, Washington arose and proposed the health of one of the ladies in good old Madeira, whereupon one of the gentlemen arose and proposed the health of another one of the ladies, and then the men in great rapidity got up and proposed the health of this lady and that lady, until there was a general fusilade of "Your health, madam," and "Your health, sir," and the tension was immediately relieved. At his own table at Mt. Vernon, General Washington exerted himself to the utmost to make his guests happy and the entertainment agreeable. Some of those dinners, especially when his old comrades-in-arms were present, and particularly when the French officers were there, were memorable for reminiscence and good times. But the custom seems to have been with the General, whenever there was a lull in the conversa-

tion, to break the awkward pause by immediately proposing somebody's health, accompanied by a sentiment. He was very happy in this, and very quick. At a dinner which he gave to Lord Cornwallis and his staff, after the surrender at Yorktown, the French officers seemed rather determined to rub it into the British for their misfortunes. Washington quickly turned every such effort, and used his exertions to spare the feelings of his conquered foes. A toast was proposed to the King of France, which was drunk, and then Cornwallis offered a toast "To the King." Washington quickly said, "General, add 'To the King of Great Britain' and then we join with all our hearts." Cornwallis never forgot the courtesy, forbearance and kindness of Washington, and conducted a cordial correspondence with him up to the time of the General's death.

I have thus, ladies, in the brief space allowable for an evening like this, endeavored, by an excursion into the fields seldom explored, to give a human view of the human nature side of the best and the noblest and the greatest man whom God ever created.

AUDIENCE WITH POPE LEO XIII

INTERVIEW CONCERNING AN AUDIENCE WITH POPE LEO XIII, IN THE VATICAN, ROME, DECEMBER 5, 1893.

As I entered the room the Pope rose and advanced half way to meet me. He shook my hand warmly and asked me to be seated. Then he resumed his own seat in the papal chair.

He began the conversation by some remarks, very flattering to my pride, as to his knowledge of me and of my standing in America. The impression he intended to convey was that he knew who I was and all about me and had long watched with interest my career. He did it so tactfully and gracefully that I was almost convinced that it was true. This same tact and courtesy predominated all through the interview.

The Pope I watched carefully, and I can say confidently that the talk about his being in a feeble and broken-down condition is all bosh. He is a slender man, as is Mr. Gladstone, but taller and therefore seeming to be more thin. His face is thin and he has long, finely-cut features, strictly Italian in contour.

It has been said that he was weak and that his hands tremble constantly, as with palsy. This is not true.

I have dined often with Mr. Gladstone under circumstances where I could judge accurately of his general condition, and I have no hesitation in saying that the Pope shows certainly as much vigor and health as does Mr. Gladstone. The Pope is nine months older than Mr. Gladstone and I consider him, if anything, the stronger man of the two.

There is about the Pope a certain nervous intensity which might be casually mistaken for feebleness in his movements. But to me it indicated rather strength and vigor of mind, as well as of body.

He was dressed all in white, with a little white cap on his head, and a long robe and cape of what I judged to be white wool. He wore the gold Papal cross and chain, richly ornamented with precious stones.

He spoke slowly and very distinctly, so that there was no

difficulty in my understanding everything that he said, even with my limited familiarity with the language.

After his pleasant remarks of welcome I thanked him and referred to the fact that in America I was at the head of a company employing many thousands of men, of whom a very large proportion profess the Catholic faith. He replied quickly that he knew that and that he had heard many pleasant reports of the kindness and fairness which had marked the dealings of my company with its employees.

I told him that about two years ago I delivered a lecture before a body of Catholic students upon the subject of the Papal encyclical then recently issued, treating of the relations of capital and labor, taking that encyclical for the text of my speech.

When the encyclical was mentioned he straightened up with all the vigor of a man of fifty, his eyes flashed, he grasped the arms of his chair and leaned forward as though intensely interested. Then for five minutes he poured forth a clear, succinct, earnest and eloquent statement of the position of the Church upon that question.

I wish I could repeat it, or translate even approximately into our language the beauty and intensity of his remarks. But I cannot undertake to give more than the substance of what he said.

That encyclical, he declared, was no new thing in the Catholic Church. It laid down no new doctrines. It simply reaffirmed and enforced what had always been the doctrine and the policy of the Church as to the relations of the rich and the poor, the employer and the employee. The right of property, the right of a man to retain and enjoy that which he has earned by the sweat of his brow, or by genius and good fortune, has never been questioned by the Church and never will be. Upon all matters affecting property and property interests the position of the Church is most conservative, but the rights and privileges of the laborers, the workingmen, the class called the poor, are not less important or entitled to less consideration from the Church.

There is a duty, he continued, higher than all other earthly duties that is owed by those who enjoy the material beneficence of God to those less favorably situated in this world. The duty of the employee to the employer is unquestioned, but so is the duty of the employer to the employee.

There must always exist between these two classes, the Pope went on to say, reciprocal relations and duties. Time and circumstances may change the nature of these relations, but in one form or another they must always exist. They are sacred obligations, and must be observed as such. Without their maintenance the world would go to pieces.

So far as its industrial and governmental affairs are concerned, the Church, he declared impressively, is founded and rooted upon the doctrines of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and only in the complete and unequivocal recognition of the force of that doctrine by all classes of men can there be true prosperity for mankind and permanent advancement for the human race.

The conversation after this was more general. The Pope manifested great interest in America and Americans and sent by me a message to my countrymen expressive of the heartiest goodwill of himself for the American people and American institutions.

I referred to my friendship for Archbishop Corrigan and praised the learning and intelligence of that prelate, whereat the Pope seemed well pleased.

The interview lasted in all, I should think, half an hour. It left with me the impression that the Pope is a man of intense convictions, very strong intellectuality, great learning and absolute fairness.

I am convinced that any question coming before him will be decided entirely upon his conviction of right and wrong, regardless of who may be helped or injured by the decision, and regardless of any personal relations he may have with either party.

When you think of the fact that the Pope is the keeper, as it were, of the consciences of 250,000,000 human beings, of something like one-fourth of the whole population of the globe; when you remember the 2,000 years of history that lies back of the Church of Rome; when you see before you the essence of all this condensed or concentrated into one man, and surrounded by all the pomp and circumstance—the thousand evidences of his importance—you will find, I am sure, even the most ordinary man a very impressive figure. But I do not think the Pope is an ordinary man. He impressed me, on the contrary, as a very extraordinary man, a man of the most unusual intellectuality.

How do you account for the exception made in your favor to

the ordinary rule that the Pope will grant no private audience to a layman?

I do not know how to account for it unless it was because the Pope realizes that in America men's influence is not measured by their official position. He may see that in that country a man may be a leader of public opinion, a man of power and influence, even though he remains a private citizen. Desirous of obtaining at first hand an impression of the state of the public mind in America, he may have concluded that his best procedure is to set aside in favor of Americans the rule which prevents direct intercourse between himself and a layman.

He may have believed that I was a man of sufficient note in my own country to make some expression of my views or sentiments valuable to him. It is probable, also, that the fact that I am the head of a corporation employing a large number of workingmen—and therefore directly concerned in the questions of capital and labor that now occupy the Pope's attention extensively so far as America is concerned—may have had something to do with his willingness to see me. He may have wanted to lecture me a little upon my duties towards the employees of the company of which I am president.

Whatever may have been the reason for the granting to me of this unusual opportunity, I want it understood that I appreciate it most highly and shall always recollect it as one of the most notable, as it was one of the most interesting, episodes of my life.

I have been considerably, if not considerately, criticised in America because I have been upon friendly terms with the Prince of Wales, and have even met the German Emperor.

The fact that I have also the privilege of calling Mr. Gladstone my friend and have availed myself of opportunities to become acquainted with various other leaders of thought and controllers of government in Europe is not so generally mentioned, but it is a fact that I have met nearly all the leading statesmen of the great continental nations. Bismarck is almost the only one I have missed.

I have done this with a fixed purpose. Eminent Englishmen, coming to America with letters of introduction to the best people, have complained to me that they saw nothing more than in London drawing-rooms. The people they met talked only of society and

similar general topics, just as they would have done in London. Because they were simply society people they never came into contact with the men who rule the country or who are creators or leaders of public sentiment.

The people I want to see are the people who make these countries what they are—the people who dominate them, either by their position or by their talent and genius.

It was with this motive that I sought an interview with the Pope. I had little idea that I would be received other than as ordinary travelers are—that is, only on the infrequent audience days which are arranged in advance for large delegations and to which travelers are allowed to attach themselves if properly accredited. But, all the same, I took my letters to the proper authority and told him what I wanted. He took the letters very courteously, but told me that the matter was hopeless, that the Pope never granted a private interview except to ecclesiastics or representatives of official power. That night, however, I received a note saying that the Pope would receive me the next day.

I went to the Vatican at the appointed hour. It was one o'clock. The Pope had been continuously engaged since eight o'clock that morning in receiving and considering the statements of ecclesiastics from all parts of the world, presenting for his decision vexed questions of Church law upon which appeals had been taken to Rome. I have a great deal of that sort of work to do myself, in a different and smaller way, perhaps, and I can appreciate the strain five hours of it must be upon a man as old as the Pope.

It was a great surprise to me, therefore, especially in view of all I had heard as to the extreme weakness of His Holiness, to find him so strong and vigorous in both mind and body as he was on this occasion.

When I arrived the Pope was engaged. With great tact he sent out a Monsignor familiar with the language and with America to converse with me while I waited. He was a very pleasant and intelligent man and talkéd interestingly on the attractions of Rome and Italy, and also upon America and the leading men of America, whose records he seemed to have studied.

Finally word came that the Pope was ready to receive me. He had just been in conference with the Bishop of Northern New York and the Rev. Mr. Edwards, of New York, and at my re-

quest they remained to help me out if my poor knowledge of the Italian language should embarrass me.

Before I went in I asked the Monsignor what were the ceremonials to be observed.

"The ordinary rule is," said he, "that the person to whom the interview is granted, upon coming into the presence of the Pope, falls upon his knees and kisses the Pontiff's hand, but your case is such an exceptional one, you being a Protestant and having a private audience, that I really do not know what will be expected."

At my request he went within and made some inquiries. Returning, he said:

"It is the Pope's pleasure that you act upon this occasion precisely as you would if you were being received by the President of the United States."

The event, I am told, has excited great comment in ecclesiastical circles in the Holy City. It is said to be the first time in twenty years that the Pope has granted a private interview to a layman.

The news of it spread quickly through Rome and there was much curiosity in clerical circles as to what might have been the occasion of the interview and the subject of our conversation.

DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY

A DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CLUB, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 23, 1885.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Mr. [Julian] Hawthorne's case, stripped of its brilliant illustrations and attractive presentation, is simply this: Man is totally depraved by nature; he is prone to crime against others and vice against himself; the Church and society keep him in order by a system of punishments and rewards; to escape the one and receive the other he suppresses his natural inclinations, and lives and dies a hypocrite; the Church therefore having failed totally to produce men and women who are good from right motives, science and free thought are developing a nobler manhood and womanhood from within, and their creations, actuated by neither sordid fear nor hope, will regenerate mankind. Starting as the author does from Calvin's premises, in which I agree with him, he reaches conclusions which all history and experience refute. The one society which presented the ideal of science and free thought was the Athenian at its best. But while the highest intellectual activity, speculation, and research existed among the few, woman, until she unsexed herself, like Aspasia, had no part or recognition, and the masses were neglected brutes or slaves. In the decay of the Roman Empire the old heathen faiths had broken down, Christianity was not yet understood, and there was absolute emancipation from creed or superstition, and the result was, that for ages the world was peopled by wild beasts, and the only existence of right was the sufferance it received from might. Liberty, learning, and proper living thrived and spread only where the Church best and most vigorously believed and disseminated the teachings of the New Testament.

Look at England 150 years ago. Death was the punishment for nearly every offense. To attend public executions was one of the recreations of the fashionable. To torture men and women in the stocks was a popular amusement. The prisons were hells of frightful crimes and hopeless sufferings. For a

gentleman to beat his wife was an entirely proper thing. Now the prisons are reformed, and reformation the object of confinement. The wounded, the sick, the helpless, the insane, the aged, and the orphan are nursed, tenderly cared for, cured, and befriended in numberless hospitals, homes, and asylums. Every one of these grand charities has sprung directly from the Church as it is, both here and in England. The disciples of science and free thought, in the absorbing effort to find what they term their liberty, have never had time or thought for the relief or elevation of their fellow-men.

By self-sacrificing and modest people, who seek no other reward than the approval of their conscience, a grand work is done daily among the poor, in the tenement houses, the missions, the industrial schools. Women of the most delicate nurture and luxurious surroundings brave everything in their labors. They are invariably the disciples of the churches. No free-thinkers are to be found among them. Last summer in London I attended the Sunday morning service at Westminster Abbey. The grandeur of the temple, the glory of its associations, the splendid liturgy and ceremonial of the Episcopal Church, formed fit and lofty accompaniments for a sermon from Canon Farrar, which in thought and diction could worthily stand beside the best classics in our language. The next Sunday I sat upon the wooden benches in the plain meeting house of Mr. Spurgeon, and listened to his homely but most powerful eloquence. No more striking contrast within the Christian community was possible. And yet I found that in like measure, but each in its own way, the old Abbey and the Baptist assembly were centers from which radiated, to every part of London, every form of Christian education and charity. London has many scientific and sociological associations of world-wide fame, but the poor, the needy, the helpless, and the lost of the great city know them not. A better society never did and never will exist than that in New England for its first 150 years, and its whole life was dominated by the family Bible.

You are all familiar with the care and growth of children. Fear and rewards have always been the elements of their education. From the first dawnings of intelligence they are taught that they will be punished if they do wrong, and benefited both here and hereafter if they do right. If this system were aban-

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.—REPLY TO JOHN FISKE, AT A MEETING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CLUB, MARCH 3, 1886.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I never felt so absolutely out of place. I am a practical man, overwhelmed with the cares of business. It is exceedingly difficult for me to get on the plane of philosophic thought. I am a practical man. I believe in the Old Testament and the New Testament precisely as they are presented by Christianity. I am in antagonism to Mr. Wakeman, who dismisses the Bible as entirely a mess of legend, and with Prof. Fiske, who accepts it with an interpretation entirely his own.

It was the atheism of France that taught license for liberty and led to the French Revolution. Where are those old philosophies and the old philosopher? They are dead, while Christianity survives. The school of atheism led to despair. Materialism soon found that every violation of the moral law could go on consistently with its teachings. So pantheism and positivism have followed only to be destroyed, and now we have the school of humanity and the cosmic philosophy coming close to the borders of Christianity as expounded by John Fiske.

They tell us there is no more Creator, only a cosmic dust. Who made the dust? There is only protoplasm, indeed. Who made protoplasm? They tell us of evolution from dust to monkey and then to man; but all the scientists have never found the missing link. The simple gospel of the humble son of a carpenter, preached by twelve fishermen, has survived the centuries and outlives all other philosophies of eighteen hundred years.

I am not versed in the terminology of the philosophies. I believe them to be of little use to reach the hearts and to influence the actions of simple men. There is no liberty that lasts in the world, and there is no government which has liberty in it that lasts, that does not recognize the Bible. What is the object of all theology? It is to reach the human heart and to control the actions of men as they are.

How many of us can even understand what the philosopher says? You might take the whole Stock Exchange and read Kant to them, and it would be utterly incomprehensible to them. Not so with the teachings of the Golden Rule. They could understand at least what that means. I read Mr. Wakeman's pamphlet last night. They tell us God must disappear; that prayer is begging; that the Holy Communion is cannibalism. When did such a religion send out a missionary? When you show me a colony of ten thousand people who have come to live decently by its teachings, I may believe it. But I say now that the Christian faith of my mother is good enough for me. If we believe this faith, what harm? If we disbelieve it, and thereby do wrong, what of our future?

LOVING CUP FOR ADMIRAL DEWEY

ADDRESS IN PRESENTING THE LOVING CUP TO ADMIRAL DEWEY, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 9, 1900.

ADMIRAL DEWEY: One of the most charming functions I have ever had in my life has fallen to my lot this beautiful morning, this Dewey Day.

Your countrymen are ever emulating each other in the conception and execution of something which will show their affection for and their gratitude to you. They followed you in mind and heart from Manila Bay in your journey around the world. On that journey home you were received by the naval officers of the fleets in the harbors where your ship anchored, and on shore foreign governments gave you proof of their high admiration and esteem. These manifestations were received with pleasure by the American people as a tribute to their great admiral.

When you arrived in America, in your own land, you were received with wide open arms, with every manifestation of the loyalty and affection of your countrymen.

But in all this, except in so far as the people could reach you personally, there was the ceremonial of official function. You were presented a sword by an admiring and grateful country, with loving cups by municipalities and with medals by States, but all of these acts were essentially ceremonial in form.

What we do to-day is without ceremony or official character. It is simply the expression of seventy thousands of men, women and children of our country in a simple way of their affection and respect for and their pride in Admiral Dewey.

One of the significant things of our time is the influence of the newspaper, the power of the journal. The triumphs of Arctic exploration, scientific advancement and beneficent reforms originate very often in the brains of the people who conduct these great powers of modern thought and who give expression to the general idea. It seems as if the myriad fingers by which the press reaches out and touches every form of opinion and feeling enable it also to concentrate in a happy way what all desire and give it definite and material form.

This has been done by the New York *Journal,* which suggested this cup for you, Admiral.

The artist who designed it has put in permanent and beautiful form the love of seventy thousands who contributed their ten-cent pieces for the purpose of making this exquisite memorial.

If you were a politician, sir, and had aspiration for the Presidency, I fear this cup would be a serious bar to your advancement, because one of the critical, crucial dangers of the time, if we are to believe many newspapers and orators, is the contraction of the currency, and here are, sir, actually seventy thousand dimes taken out of the circulating medium of the country.

But there is another significance in this gift. Ever since the dawn of civilization in any garment which people wore the pocket has been the test of the civilization of man; but while the pocket gives to man the characteristics of culture, of progress, of up-to-dateness, it is well to remember that its absence in her dress is an evidence of the same qualities in woman. Ever since the pocket came into use and fashion there has always been a pocket piece. This is a charm, carried for the purpose of warding off rheumatism and the devil, as an immunity from life's evils, and as a means of escape from the misfortunes which threaten, and also promote good fortune.

In this cup are melted up the dimes of a great many elderly people who had rounded out their successful lives, and who thought that they would give to you their pocket pieces in the hope that they would do for you what they had done for themselves; that you would be free from what they had escaped, and that, besides, they would transfer to you good luck for the rest of your life.

Now, Admiral, I know of no form of compliment which can permanently give greater satisfaction to one who seems to have gratitude expressed to him in every conceivable way than this unique and original gift.

As you look at this cup during the years to come you will know that the donors from every State, city, town and hamlet of your country will have an interest in your home. From thousands of homes from which has been contributed their mite, in every prayer, morning and evening, there will be an aspiration for long life, health and happiness for Admiral Dewey.

ACQUISITION OF JUMEL MANSION

SPEECH ON THE ACQUISITION BY THE CITY OF NEW YORK OF THE JUMEL MANSION, DECEMBER 28, 1903.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: New York is the second city in the world. It is distinguished for its bigness. In population, commerce, accumulated wealth, industries, and financial power, it stands next to London, and in some of these respects surpasses that metropolis. It holds the front rank in its educational system, the number of students in its universities, colleges and schools, and in its charities. It is unique as compared with all cities of the Old World, both great and small, that it has preserved but few monuments of historic interest. The delight of the traveler who intelligently visits other lands, is contact with the architectural remains of former times. The history of the ages becomes in these castles, palaces, statues and fortresses, vividly realistic. These old towns are all rich in well preserved structures which illustrate the story of their origin and development. At almost every street and square are found chapters in stone of deep historic interest. But this metropolis, towering so magnificently above them all, has in its possession little besides Fraunce's Tavern, St. Paul's Church, and this recently purchased Jumel Mansion. But the treasured relics of the older civilizations and settlements are mostly reminders of tragedies. The Coliseum speaks of barbarous gladiatorial battles and the martyrdom of Christian saints. The terrible stories of human sufferings and of the sacrifice of human rights are found among the ruins of the Forum and the Acropolis, as well as in the Tower and the Tuilleries. But our three monuments, though hallowed by so little antiquity, though insignificant in their architecture and dimensions, are suggestive of everything brightest and most hopeful in the story of civil and religious liberty. They are full of inspiration as reminders of the heroes and statesmen whose achievements created this Republic and advanced the world in human rights more than had been done in all preceding centuries. It was in St. Paul's that the early patriots of colonial times and

Washington, when President, worshipped. Fraunce's Tavern witnessed the assemblage of the solid men of New York who organized the Sons of Liberty and prepared for the Revolution. There also occurred the pathetic and memorable farewell of Washington to the officers of his Army. The story of this Jumel Mansion is the romance and history of many interesting periods in our national life.

It is singularly true that only in recent years have we valued and cherished and preserved by State aid the relics of our past history. The revival of patriotic spirit by voluntary colonial and revolutionary societies has done much to arouse a general interest in scenic and historic places. We all remember the years of struggle and anxiety before the American women, aided by the eloquence of Edward Everett, could raise the fund for the purchase of Mount Vernon. We know now that, but for this effort, the nation would have lost all the educational and inspiring influences of the home of Washington. Congress, State Legislatures, and municipal authorities permitted the destruction of many priceless treasures because, until the Civil War was ended, there was always a doubt as to the perpetuity of the Republic. The best men of each generation believed the Union could not endure half free and half slave and they saw no end of the conflict except in two Confederacies. It is since the Civil War, and almost within the last decade, that there has been this lively interest for the preservation of the land-marks of patriotism. This feeling was recently happily illustrated by an Irish Mayor, prohibiting the blue bloods of Boston from exhibiting in Faneuil Hall their Plymouth Rock hens.

We often express our regret that we were not able to meet the great men of former generations. The imagination pictures the fascination of listening to their narration of their deeds and stories of their compatriots. But great men rarely and all too briefly talk of their achievements. We have had in our own time characters who will grow greater with the centuries, and many of us have known them well. Grant rarely spoke of his battles or his career, nor did Lincoln or Sherman or Sheridan. They leave out of their books the personal detail, criticisms and characterizations for which succeeding generations hunger. Washington was reticent upon subjects which are of absorbing interest to posterity. It is a Boswell who keeps the diary and enlightens

the future. The conditions of greatness are so isolated that it is only at St. Helena where a Boswell is possible. But here in this Mansion and grounds we have a place which talks eloquently and all the world can listen. It speaks of and portrays picturesquely colonial and revolutionary characters and incidents and the story of American life, from the colonial period down to our own day. The spirit of intense loyalty to Great Britain once permeated its halls and rooms. Colonel Roger Morris, who had been wounded while with Braddock's army in the fatal fight at Fort Duquesne, and won distinction with Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham in the conquest of Quebec, dispensed here for many years elegant hospitality. The officers of the British garrison, the governor of the province, the magistrates of the city, the leading citizens and their wives and daughters, were all charmingly entertained. The customs and gallantries of the eighteenth century were as well exhibited here as in the great houses of London and Paris. Romance and history have moved together about these grounds. The wife of Col. Morris was that Mary Philipse, who won the heart of Washington and rejected his suit. On his way to Boston, and again on his return, the gallant Virginian met defeat at the hands of this fair New Yorker. Washington, though invincible in war and peace, was singularly unsuccessful in affairs of the heart. When the Revolution broke out Col. Morris, as a retired officer of the British Army and the son of an English baronet, espoused the royal cause. At the close of the war he went with his family to Great Britain and was never permitted to return. This estate which had come through the fortune of his wife was confiscated. While Washington was President he recorded in his diary that with the Vice-president, some members of his Cabinet and their ladies, on returning from a visit to Fort Washington, they dined at this house, which was then a hotel, and he mentions that it was the confiscated property of Col. Morris. Possibly his early affair with Mary Philipse was in the great chieftain's mind when he penned this minute. We can only wonder what were the emotions of Mrs. Morris when she recalled the past and the present. She was living at that hour in England in comparative obscurity and poverty, while the Virginia Colonel and planter, who seemed to her so lacking in the graces and gallantries of the British officers, who were courting, and one of whom married her, was then the

foremost man in the world—the father of his country, and the subject of eulogies and admiration among British statesmen and writers.

The old house which was closed by the flight of its owners, was re-opened by General Washington as his headquarters immediately after the disastrous battle of Long Island. It was while the British were throwing up a line of entrenchments a short distance below, at 94th Street, that from this piazza at 160th Street, he was watching the enemy and preparing for the battle which was imminent. Here he gave audience to Nathan Hale prior to the self-sacrificing and fatal mission of that gallant youth. In this brief period, history once more becomes romance. Two young men of about the same age, were constant visitors. Aaron Burr was serving as Washington's secretary, and Alexander Hamilton, by his skill in command of a battery of artillery and building of earth-works, had won the attention of the commander. They were both about twenty years of age and the long battle between them began here, ending in the duel which was virtually the assassination of Hamilton by Burr twenty-eight years afterwards. It was here that Washington conceived a distrust and dislike of Burr, which grew in intensity, and that confidence in Hamilton, which became greater every day of his life. Burr remained in this position a few months only. With him as private secretary and confidant, the story of Washington's career might have been very different. He was the most fascinating as well as the most unscrupulous man of the period, with the brains of a Machiavelli and the principles of Talleyrand. Hamilton, on the other hand, was the incarnation of loyalty, truth and honor, and possessed unequaled constructive abilities for government. He had not only creative power but the talent to convince others by the resistless strength and lucidity of his logic.

Washington was compelled to retreat to Westchester, because of the danger of a flank movement, which would prevent his crossing the Harlem River. The defeat at White Plains was really a drawn battle. Washington retired to Northcastle and the Highland Hills, and the British returned to New York. The old house tells of an adventure which might have changed the whole course of the Revolution. Washington, with General Greene, General Putnam, General Mercer and others, came here on a reconnoisance to see what the British were doing with their

intrenchments below. Upon this piazza at that moment were gathered almost all there was of the military brains and experience of the Army of the young revolution, for this was in 1776. Fifteen minutes after Washington had left for the Hudson River to return to Fort Lee, the house was occupied by a detachment of British and Hessians. In that quarter of an hour were suspended the destinies of the American Republic.

From the fall of 1776 until the evacuation of New York by the British Army at the close of the war in 1783 this house was the center of plots and counter plots, of campaigns planned and carried out, and campaigns abandoned, on the part of the English commanders. There was a revival of its hospitality and brilliant entertainments. A gay array of uniforms and colonial beauties could be seen often dancing to the music of the military bands or strolling about these grounds. With the departure of the British and the confiscation of the property, came dark days for the Mansion. It was a farmer's home and a hotel, and under long litigation in the efforts of Mrs. Morris to regain it as a part of her patrimony when she was Mary Philipse. John Jacob Astor had the courage to purchase her claim for a hundred thousand dollars, a sum, at that time, sufficient to make her comparatively wealthy on the other side. After varying fortunes, it became, in 1810, the property of Stephen Jumel. Jumel was a French coffee planter in Santo Domingo, who had escaped the massacre and settled in New York, where he became a very successful merchant. His American wife was famed for her beauty and wit. She had a genius for social life, and revived all the early glories of the place. She was more than a woman of fashion, and she made her house the favorite gathering place of art and letters, of law and distinction of every kind, in the early part of the nineteenth century. She had a daring ambition and with her husband's fortune, and her own great abilities and beauty, had overcome the difficulties of a very humble and doubtful origin. When Napoleon was dethroned, the Jumels offered him a home for life. This young and handsome American matron had secured a position at court and an acquaintance with the great emperor, where she could safely make such a stupendous proposition. New York, however, was too far from France for the exile of Elba to plan his triumphant return, which ended at Waterloo, and he declined. After the fall of Napoleon this

remarkable woman began gathering relics of the Empire for her home in New York. In this she displayed the same extrordinary ability which had marked her rise and career. Chairs which Napoleon had when first Consul, the clock from his room in the Tuilleries, tapestry and paintings which were once Josephine's, the bedstead upon which Napoleon had slept, his army chest, and the trunk which was used by him on the march to Moscow, embroideries valued as the gifts of Josephine to the Emperor in happy days, and other mementos connected with the domestic and public life of her hero, filled her parlors and drawing-rooms. When Louis Napoleon arrived here as an exile, he was received by Madam Jumel as an honored guest. She furnished him with money and undoubtedly with her soaring and ambitious spirit encouraged him for the adventure which afterwards was so signally successful. Madam Jumel was a widow of fifty-seven, but still possessed of great beauty and charm, when she fell under the spell of the fascination of Aaron Burr. He had become a wanderer upon the face of the earth after the duel with Hamilton. He had organized and almost succeeded in establishing an independent republic in the Southwest, and barely escaped conviction for treason. He had returned to New York almost forgotten, but his great abilities as a lawyer secured him a living practice. Though seventy-eight years of age he was still almost hypnotically attractive to women. He stands alone among American historical characters for a long life of illicit amours and intrigues. A matter of business led to his call at the Jumel mansion, and Madam Jumel was immeditely impressed by his courtly ways and skill in compliments. She invited him to a dinner, giving him the position of honor and he won her admiration by his attention and the remark, "Madam, I give you my hand, my heart has long been yours." She refused his offer of marriage, but Burr knew women as well as he did law. The next time he came he brought with him a clergyman, and after much indignation at his presumption and impudence and many protests that she would never consent, she finally left the room to her aged lover and his clerical companion. When she appeared again, it was in all the splendor of a gown fit for a bride. Burr instantly grasped the situation, and standing with her before the clergyman the ceremony was performed in the room where nearly three-score years before he had served as secretary to Washington. During his long and

stormy life, Colonel Burr had suffered many vicissitudes. He had often been in extreme poverty and was now in financial straits. His friends and admirers thought that entering upon eighty, as he was, having won the affections of this rich and accomplished woman, and secure in a position of elegance and comfort for the rest of his life, he would be content. But his restless spirit was bound by no limitations of age. The wealth of his wife aroused that appetite for daring speculation which had repeatedly been his unmaking. He abused her confidence, lost a portion of her fortune, and she summarily dismissed him within a year. He died three years afterwards in loneliness and poverty at Port Richmond, Staten Island. Madam Jumel survived him for nearly thirty years, during which time she was always a conspicuous figure in our city life by her charities, her hospitalities, and the celebrities at home and from abroad whom she entertained. She visited Paris and received marked attention from Louis Napoleon and other members of the Bonaparte family. She died in 1865.

Nowhere else in our city can be found such concentration of history and romance as here. There are few structures in existence in our country whose rooms have echoed to the voices of so many people of eminence. The older we grow, and the more distant are the scenes of our beginning as a nation, the more precious are the places and things which recall the sacrifices and the principles of the men and the deeds of the Revolution.

This estate becomes to-day the property of the citizens of New York. It will be a place of pilgrimage, not only for our children and our children's children, but for visitors from all over the country. More than school books or history, more than biographies or lectures, it will tell the story and teach the lesson of the colonial struggle against usurpations of the ministers of the crown, of Washington and the Continental Army, of Hamilton and constitutional liberty, of the formation of the Republic and its first President. The great city will extend far and wide, it will increase in wealth, majesty and power; its public buildings and its palaces, its avenues and its parks, its warehouses and its wharves will grow greater in number, appointments and splendor, but one of its choicest jewels, forever maintained in its original simplicity, to inspire patriotism, good citizenship, culture and democratic spirit, will be this modest mansion of our early days.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE

INTERVIEW ON THE SOCIAL SIDE OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE, LONDON, JUNE 22, 1897.

THE temper of the English nation towards this great function is best evidenced by the treatment of it by the citizens of the chief city of the empire, where it occurs.

London has been stirred by this event as never before this century by anything.

Contributions were voluntary. Every private residence, every business house, did its best to outvie every other residence and store in the elaborateness of its decorations and perfection of its illuminations.

I doubt if any city has ever been so universally covered with bunting, flags, flowers, armorial devices, every conceivable design that in the judgment of tenant or landlord could show respect and reverence for the Queen.

In many instances I have noticed that the inhabitants of whole blocks have first individually adorned their houses and then collectively raised poles on each side of the street and suspended ropes, flowers and hanging baskets of ferns, so as to make a veritable bower of green under which the procession should pass.

In point of illumination London departed from the old-fashioned method of rows of candles in windows. It has exhausted the arts of the designer and electrician to present in lights of every color patriotic emblems and mottoes, all of them glorifying the Queen and her reign, and praying for a long continuance of her life and sovereignty.

The celebration differs from those to which we are accustomed, because we have so many capitals, east, west, south and on the Pacific Coast, while here all there is of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the vast colonial possessions of Great Britain throughout the world is concentrated in London.

The one touch of human nature which connected this brilliant, impressive exhibition of imperial power with the womanliness of the sovereign was that at different points of the ceremonial or procession she was moved to tears.

After sixty years this marvelous union of sovereign, pure woman, wife, mother, who has accomplished so much for the peace of the world, and by peace so much for the advancement of civilization, seemed to be fresh as when as a girl she ascended the throne three score of years ago.

The peculiarity of this vast assemblage of people was that it was probably the greatest congregation of human beings ever crowded within a given space. It was in the first place distinguished for its good nature, in the next for its characteristic cosmopolitan indifference to the splendor of the uniforms of the royal princes and great military magnates, the rich dresses, the turbans and the wonderful jewels of the Indian princes.

On the other hand, it showed a wild, frantic enthusiasm for the aged sovereign. She finally appeared. I really thought two or three women about me, who had observed with entire calmness the extraordinary panorama of military and official splendor, would go clean out of their minds when the Queen passed. It was a considerable period afterwards before they regained any consciousness of their surroundings.

This evening I was struck with the difference between the veteran Londoner and the colonial, one educated to regard this world and the next as a bore, the other easily swept off his feet by any unaccustomed sight or experience. There is no doubt each was stirred by the same profound emotion and would have willingly died in his tracks to exhibit his loyalty. The colonial was awed by such a superb, magnificent, marvelous exhibition, such a wonderful procession and such a concentration of imperial power. The impressed Londoner yawned and remarked "it was a good bit of a show."

The Diamond Jubilee procession has left a lasting impression. Its preparation required sixty years, and it was over in sixty minutes.

Pride, power and adoration were its characteristics—pride in the imperial position of Great Britain in the world and exhibition of power which inspires this national exaltation and fervid loyalty in action and expression and thought for the Queen.

As to the pageant, it was dramatic and historic. The Lord Mayor, in his robes of office, meeting the sovereign at the city gates, recalled the early suggestions of liberty in the privileges won from kings by free cities, and the Sheriff in medieval cos-

tume escorting the monarch within his bailiwick gave a glimpse of the origin and recognition of civil rights by the throne.

The monarch, escorted by princes and guarded by the military forces of the realms, both regulars and volunteers, national and colonial, evidenced the strength and permanency of the monarchical system with this people.

We Americans glory in our country and its marvelous developments in a hundred years and duly assert ourselves on the Fourth of July. The celebration by the Germans of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Sedan and the founding of the German Empire, which I saw, was a wonderful exhibition of race and national feeling. But the concentrated and irrepressible joy and pride which preceded, accompanied and followed the Queen like a resistless torrent surpassed anything ever witnessed before.

Though many races and many tongues participated, the dominant and absorbing expression was English and the glory was England's. Peers and commoners, masters and workmen, millionaires and the multitude, were welded by a tremendous force.

This concentration of loyalty from the remotest corners of the earth into one wild, frantic mass of patriotic enthusiasm had an effect upon observers which can be likened to nothing so much as to the North and South electrified by the first gun fired at Fort Sumter, or by the Seventh Regiment marching down Broadway to the defense of the capital.

The enthusiasm and shouting were far different from those evoked by the triumphal procession of a Roman conqueror. Men and women eagerly expressed to each other and emphasized to foreigners, as the colonials marched by, that they were not captives chained to the chariot of their conqueror, but "willing subjects, free citizens of our world-wide empire, following their sovereign."

White, yellow and black soldiers trooped by, each accelerating and increasing the tidal wave of enthusiasm, and presented a panorama of power unequaled in history.

The seeds of this power were in the American Revolution, and it expanded into this wonderful spectacle by the principles of self-government so triumphantly vindicated by the founder of the United States.

The sovereign and the British statesmen who believed the colonies should be governed from London and taxed for the bene-

fit of the mother country lost for England the American colonies, and the sovereign and statesmen, taught by our success, who have left to each settlement absolute independence and home rule, have builded upon these foundations and vastly strengthened by this reunion the British federation of empire.

Among the American spectators there was no jealousy or stint of praise and applause. We could both glory in the vitality and virility of the mother country and rejoice mightily. We were not marching in the procession, but we were present as the proud equals in all that constitutes a free people and a great nation.

It was pleasing to note our neighbors of Canada. They easily took the lead among the colonials, and the fact that the province of Quebec was in rebellion when Victoria came to the throne, and that her Premier, now here, is a Frenchman and a Catholic, appealed to English imagination. That the descendants of Montcalm and his countrymen should vie with the children of Wolfe and his soldiers in their loyalty, and that Canada has made a beginning by favoring Great Britain as against other nations in her tariff, have touched both the British heart and pocket.

I can conjure no tribute like the popular ovation to the Queen ever being given to any human being, except the reception to Washington by the people on his way from Mount Vernon to New York to assume the position of first President of the United States. Respect, reverence, love and gratitude are words too tame, and there is no intermediate expression between them and adoration.

This practical age does not worship. But, leaving out the idea of divinity, to-day's greeting to the Queen and Empress is its equivalent. That she was deeply moved was evident, but she seemed more absorbed by the significance of the event than conscious of her past. Therein she impressed me as proud and happy with this grand tribute of her people, but at the same time sharing with them the universal joy in the thought of both oppressed and elevated that there has not been such a sixty years in recorded time that all nations have enjoyed its benefits and blessings, and none more than our own.

But for this day and place the crowd only saw what Great Britain has gained during her reign, and accorded praise therefor

to her. Her reign has been a period of emancipation in English history.

Making due allowance for the exaltation of the hour, Victoria will occupy a great place in the history of the nineteenth century. Her influence for peace has been of momentous consequence to Great Britain, Europe, and civilization.

She has always been cordial in her friendships and anxious for the loftiest relationship with the United States. Her messages, sweet, tender and womanly, to the widow of Lincoln and the wife of the dying Garfield, gave her a warm welcome and a permanent memory in our American homes. In estimating her influence we must picture what might have occurred with a warlike or corrupt sovereign, and recognize her power of accumulating a force of sixty years of wisdom as a ruler and as the best example as woman, wife and mother.

LONDON IN CORONATION YEAR

IMPRESSIONS OF LONDON AND LONDONERS IN CORONATION YEAR, 1902.

LONDON is always the same to the veteran visitor. It differs from New York or Chicago because of the very limited proportion of foreigners compared with the entire population. In American cities nearly half the people are from Europe and retain their national characteristics. But the Londoner is a type which Americans have become familiar with in Thackeray and Dickens and earlier and later British authors, but coronation London was a surprise. The preparations for the great event were not only evident in the streets but with the inhabitants. I have witnessed many celebrations which aroused patriotic interest and enthusiasm, both at home and abroad. I saw the processions and ceremonials of the fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of the reign of Queen Victoria. The difference between them and the coronation display and feelings seemed like realization and satisfaction with the one and abounding hope and joy with the other. The latter inspires more enthusiasm and livelier demonstrations.

I have never witnessed such universal decoration. No ruler ever had such visible signs of his popularity with his people as the King. Criticism is very easy of the taste and judgment of these loyal efforts, but out of place. From an artistic standpoint municipal conceptions of expressing sentiment and welcome are usually a succession of horrors in form and color. The only way to meet these efforts is to extend to them the charity asked for in the well-known sign over the music stand in the dance hall at Leadville—"Don't shoot the fiddler, he is doing the best he can." Earnest enthusiasm, pride and pleasure were all in evidence in the lavishness of the display. But London has grown in more and broader ways than increased acreage of streets and houses since I first visited the city. It has become more cosmopolitan and will now not only tolerate but accepts ideas which would have been hateful, because foreign, twenty-five years ago. A great city can be most narrow and provincial, as every traveler knows.

There was enough of excellent taste and skill in the structures and decorations to more than counterbalance crudities and vulgarities. The whole effect after a tour of the streets was inspiring. The dullest and most unimaginative mind could not help being influenced by this tremendous ovation and its signification.

I was frequently almost submerged in a surging sea of people and drivers of coaches, cabs and 'busses, vainly seeking an outlet. The police would be helpless and the situation was suggestive of epithet and assault: but women and the weak were perfectly safe. With good-natured banter and chaff all were helpful and then the untangling of one crowd was succeeded by a succession of similar experiences so long as the coronation route was adhered to, but the result was increasing cheerfulness and patience. It is easy under such uncomfortable conditions for irritations to arise, conflicts ensue, and the throng to become a mob. In most Continental cities the police would be charging and dispersing the crowds and cursing captives and bloody heads constantly in evidence. The London policeman is a marvel compared with his comrade in France, Germany, Italy or Russia. He is everybody's friend, he never loses his head or temper, he challenges admiration as a skilful tactician, as without noise or fuss or parade of authority he hourly wins bloodless victories. As his raised hand stops the procession of vehicles at converging points until the invading line moves by and then reversing the action he releases the first column and permits its progress, he is a perceptible factor in the commerce of the world. Traffic destined to points all around the globe traversing the London streets to railway stations, docks and warehouses is expedited or delayed in the almost hopeless congestion of the city streets by the strategy of this representative of the law. The remarkable thing to a foreigner is the respect shown him and the universal acquiescence to his authority. The dullest cabby or coachman recognizes apparently that the power of the Empire is embodied in this unarmed and humble officer. His position in this mass of struggling cabs, wagons and omnibuses would be more perilous than on the field of battle if it occurred to the most reckless driver to get on by running him down, but it never does and he is as immune as if on the sod of Hyde Park.

The London crowd differs from all others that I have seen

in its deference to the classes. It is apparent that the Londoner loves a lord. Carriages with liveried servants on the box and heraldic devices on the panels were accorded the right of way wherever possible. They were part of the show the crowd was out to see. There was unmistakable cordiality from city man to coster as some well-known nobleman was recognized. In almost any Continental city the appearance of rank or wealth would be resented by festive throngs. The warning cry of "aristocrat" will follow those in a hired landau with coachman in livery on the box on the 14th of July in Paris, whether in the streets or the Bois, and the occupants will be lucky if nothing more serious happens. The socialists elsewhere are sufficiently numerous and united to make unpleasant demonstrations. But there seems to be no socialistic sentiment in London. If there is its manifestations do not take the usual forms. It is an interesting study if the unrestrained eloquence of the orator in Hyde Park on Sunday against Church and State, the royal family and the nobility, wealth and success, and the uninterrupted parade with all these sentiments on the banners are the vents of the social volcano. The enemies of the existing social order apparently cannot generate steam except under resistance and repression.

I do not make any comparison with American crowds because our conditions are so different that any comparison is impossible. Our universal and excellent common schools and compulsory education and our system of manhood suffrage, and the absence of privilege, hereditary or legal, the recognized law that with a few exceptions there are only three generations from shirt sleeve to shirt sleeve, make an independent, self-reliant and ambitious electorate as distinct from a proletariat. Americanism develops an egoistic individuality which cannot be awed or impressed by anybody or anything, it possesses curiosity but no reverence, is capable of intense enthusiasm for a political leader, with whom there is also at the same time in relations of democratic equality and familiarity, but its heroes are short lived. Selecting a peach from the street stand in front of a fruit store in New York, I saw and greeted a recently retired ex-President of the United States who was passing by. As the fruit merchant did not look up I said, "That is President Hayes." "Is it?" said he, and continued his conversation for the sale of his goods without taking the slightest notice of the statesman who had been the storm

center of one of the most trying controversies in our history.

The suppression of evidences of feeling or interest which Londoners affect seem strange to a visitor from a country where the emotions are quickly at the surface. I was at a party in London when a battle was imminent between the British forces and a powerful and dangerous enemy far away. Among the guests was the wife of the General in command. An official of the War Office entered and quietly announced that the battle had been fought and the enemy's army wiped out. He might have said that the thermometer had risen or the barometer fallen or the House of Commons adjourned for the day, so far as there were any manifestations of pride, pleasure, or enthusiasm from the wife or the company, and yet they were universally relieved and gratified. I was looking from the window of my apartments at the Carlton upon a great crowd of people and vehicles so filling the street along Pall Mall and Trafalgar Square that movement either way seemed hopeless. There was the utmost good nature and consideration and the sightseers were admiring the decorations. Suddenly the most unexpected thing occurred which was possible to the thought or imagination of anyone, namely, the announcement on a large poster that the coronation was postponed, the King seriously ill and an immediate operation necessary. The mass quickly and quietly dissolved but the tremendous tension of feelings and the bitter disappointment produced no outward expressions. Perhaps this cultivated characteristic having become a habit had much to do with the apparently stolid indifference with which bad news was received during the recent war, resulting in an equal determination to fight to the bitter end, regardless of losses or cost. It was only natural that when victories came they should be received with an explosion of pent-up forces which astonished the world.

The attitude of the London crowd towards the King was a surprise. The unanimity of the cordiality and enthusiasm was remarkable. The same situation would be impossible in any other country. There would be dissensions on political lines and part of the people would be hostile or coldly indifferent. The isolation of the British Sovereign from active or negative participation in suggesting, framing or advocating measures before Parliament was made singularly evident. A committee of the dominant party in Parliament being the government, ministers

may come and ministers may go and policies or legislation arouse the bitterest controversies, but the popularity of the King is not shaken. It is difficult for a stranger at first to grasp his place in the Empire, but the Londoner seems to see in the Throne the sovereignty of the state automatically perpetuated. He remains an unyielding Radical or Conservative and firmly believes the Prime Minister is saving or destroying the country to the extent of that great official's ability, but so long as the King lives the responsible head of the government for the hour cannot upset everything. So the King is a sort of saviour of the situation and he would have to do a good many vicious or foolish things to disturb the loyal regard of his subjects.

While watching the preparations for the Coronation and viewing the colonials and representatives of every race from England's world-wide Empire, I could not help contrasting the present with the period just prior to the American Revolution. No American can have any comprehension of the feudal text and spirit of the liturgy of the Coronation. Its recognition of the sovereignty in the Throne and fealty from the Church, nobility, and subjects are the reverse of sovereignty in the people which is the foundation of the institutions of the United States. And yet when George the Third, the great-grandfather of King Edward the Seventh, ascended the throne this idea was universally admitted in the American Colonies. Washington and all the Signers of the Declaration of Independence gave it cordial assent up to within a few years of the adoption by the Americans of the Ordinance of Separation. The American Revolution is a startling reminder of the ease with which a King and his Prime Minister can undermine the Throne. London of 1776 was almost unanimous in support of the policy which ignored the wishes of the colonists and treated their representatives with contempt, but London of 1902 goes wild over the visit of the soldiers from the Colonies who volunteered for the defence of the Empire and cordially welcomes colonial premiers and statesmen to a conference with the King and Cabinet over mutual interests and for cementing stronger bonds of union.

The attraction of London to the annual visitor is its cordial and charming hospitality. It is at the dinner table and in the drawing-room that London becomes the capital of the Old World. Social standing and place in precedence being so stable and known,

hosts have no fear of impairing their position by having guests who are not in the smart set. In the season, the visitor well enough known to find hospitable doors opening to him every day, meets and talks with those who are famous in every field of human endeavor and distinction. This is possible in no other city or society. Statesmen, warriors, orators, writers, journalists, artists, actors, travelers and representatives of other races and civiliaztions, all of whom for the time are in the eye or on the tongue of the world pass in review. With many of them there is opportunity for conversation and that most fascinating of studies, the discovery or at least a suggestion of the secret of their success and power. I always return home feeling as if in the world's university I had met the workers who build and educate and who are important factors in the culture, civilization and progress of their countries or whose contributions to the thought or gaiety of nations makes their acquaintance a valuable acquisition and enjoyable memory. It is delightful for a while to breathe an atmosphere where gigantic fortunes and titanic struggles to gain or enlarge them, which form so large a part of our daily reading and conversation, have no place in the programme.

INTERVIEW ON GENERAL GRANT

INTERVIEW ON GENERAL GRANT, SPRING OF 1899.

THE fame of General Grant will increase during the twentieth century. He will be judged then by his achievements and their results. Every current estimate, while so many of his contemporaries are living, is burdened with details, which, from the historical point of view, have no connection with the subject. He will be judged as a soldier. Little note will be taken of his two terms as President of the United States.

Great men are estimated by comparison with other great men —statesmen with statesmen, soldiers with soldiers, authors with authors, and orators with orators. From Plutarch to our time and from our time to the end of all time this will be a favorite method with analysts of greatness.

The nineteenth century has produced four great warriors, Napoleon, Wellington, Von Moltke, and Grant. The reputation of a conqueror does not rest alone upon battles and victories. Napoleon, Wellington, and Von Moltke are already fixed stars in history. Their places will not be changed by the future historian. Grant will grow in greatness as time clarifies the atmosphere and enlarges the perspective. He fought sixty-two battles and never lost one. He organized a campaign which covered a territory larger than Europe, and in it maneuvered armies numbering over a million of men. Whether we consider the assault upon Fort Donaldson, the change at Shiloh of a reverse into a victory, the campaign at Vicksburg, undertaken against the advice of his commanders, the campaign in the Wilderness, carried on against the protest of the whole country, Sherman's march through the Confederacy from Atlanta to the Sea, or the siege and capture of Richmond and the disbandment of the Confederate Army, his forecast was as sure as prophecy, his plans as accurate as destiny, and the issue as certain as fate. In differentiating him from the other great commanders of the nineteenth century his greatness will grow because of his instant appreciation of how to utilize the results of his victories. The moment General Lee

surrendered Grant saw sooner than anyone, except Lincoln, that the reunion of the States could be effected only by pardon, peace, and reconciliation. His terms of capitulation were a masterpiece of foresight and statesmanship. He rightly gauged the American character. The American is a fighter who, if beaten in a fair fight by an honorable foe, recognizes the situation. He will fight to the death unless his foe treats him as an equal but the victim of the fortunes of war. The whole problem of the Government in the Civil War was, first to extirpate slavery and, second, to reunite the union of the States. Grant's parole to the defeated army, of safe conduct for themselves with their horses and personal belongings, to return to their homes and to agriculture and to business; of invitation, the cause of the war having been removed, to resume their citizenship and enjoy the equal opportunities of the Government with their brethren who had succeeded in the fight, was the key to the whole situation. Only two policies were possible—of conquest, with an endless guerrilla and internecine war, or the full restoration of the Southern people to their political rights. Only the tremendous prestige of the great General and the cordial and equally intelligent support of the great President—Lincoln—reconciled the North and the Northern Army to these terms.

The rapid reunion of the country, the tremendous prosperity of both North and South since the Civil War, and the emulous strife between the two sections as to which should be first at the front in the war with Spain are the tributes of the surviving veterans of the Union and Confederate Armies and of their descendants, to the wisdom of Grant's policy.

At the close of the twentieth century, the events of history crowding off the stage all minor characters, there will be left, as representing the nineteenth century for this country, Lincoln and Grant. The fame of both will increase with each succeeding century.

ARBITRATION AS A MORAL FORCE

INTERVIEW ON ARBITRATION AS A MORAL FORCE, DICTATED JUNE, 1902.

THE most hopeful moral force in the world to-day is arbitration. With nations the alternatives are diplomatic agreements, war, or arbitration. The failure of the first has heretofore led to the second with all those horrors which forced from General Sherman the epigrammatic characterization "War is Hell." It is the high honor of the United States, the most powerful of nations, that it first suggested and then successfully brought about a Congress of Governments which formulated and adopted a plan for peace which will grow stronger with the years. The moral forces of Christian peoples will not permit hostile armies to move until arbitration, under rules of the Hague Conference, has been tried.

The barbaric test of physical combat between individuals was based on the belief that the god would make the right win, but he evidenced his disapproval of this unchristian conduct by holding aloof. The fact that the strong and the skilled always won over the weak, led to slow and painful evolution into law and justice. Courts are the protectors of the poor and helpless against the rich and powerful. As law is respected, force disappears in the righting of wrongs and adjustment of disputes.

Organized capital and organized labor are the present factors of development and civilization. When they are in harmony, peace and prosperity prevail. When they fall out, the social fabric is in danger of disintegrating, and if the dispute be sufficiently widespread and obstinate, industrial operations will be suspended and society reduced to anarchy. They fight out their differences by strikes and lockouts, which is a return by these comparatively new and powerful forces to the medieval method of combat. The process of a trial of endurance, with the outbreaks of violence which necessarily are incident to situations where fierce passions and great distress go together, is barbaric and fraught with danger to the State, the Church, and the family.

The lesson of all past experience and the progress of civilization from its lowest to its present splendid development is the substitution of arbitration for our crude and unscientific methods. The Civic Federation is a movement in the right direction. But every moral and educational force in the country should be directed to a universal acceptance of arbitration. When that humane and enlightened principle is generally adopted, the genius of the American people for solving problems affecting the public welfare will speedily perfect a scheme which will permanently establish that harmony between labor and capital without which no community can thrive or peacefully exist.

THE NEXT HUNDRED YEARS

INTRODUCTION FOR "ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMERCE," A HISTORY OF AMERICAN COMMERCE BY ONE HUNDRED AMERICANS, NEW YORK, 1895.

It has been a labor of love as well as instruction to edit the articles which appear in this volume. Such a review of our remarkable century can be found nowhere else. Assistance has been sought, not among literary men and professional writers, but from the experts in each department of industry. The encyclopedia is largely professional work. This is purely practical. Gentlemen absorbed in the management of the enterprises which are the growth of the century have stepped aside from their engrossing duties and cares to put into enduring form, each for himself, a plain, clear, and lucid statement of the section of the material world with which he is familiar, and in which he has won his position, fortune, or fame. No one can rise from a perusal of these papers without having an increased admiration for the nineteenth century and unbounded hopes for the twentieth. The stories of battle and conquest, of the founding of dynasties and the dissolving of empires, of the sieges of cities and the subduing of peoples, which constitute the body of written history from the beginning of recorded time, are in ghastly contrast to this most glorious, beneficent, and humanitarian picture of the achievement of the nineteenth century.

A philosopher has said that he is a benefactor of mankind who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before. We celebrate harvests in inventions and discoveries where existed only Saharas. We find that the nineteenth century has not only added enormously to the productive power of the earth, but, in the happiness which has attended its creative genius, it has made the sunlight penetrate where the sunbeam was before unknown.

Our own country is peculiarly the pride of this century. It is the most complete example ever presented of the working out under favorable conditions of the principles and opportunities of civil and religious liberty. The marvelous development of the

United States cannot be attributed solely or mainly to climate, to soil, to the virgin forests, or to unlimited and unoccupied territory. South America, Central America, and Mexico were as well, if not better, equipped in these respects. The garden of Eden, that fertile and fruitful portion of Asia, which for ages was the seat of empire, civilization, art, and letters, and for centuries the hive from which swarmed the conquerors of Europe, has returned to aboriginal conditions of desert and wilderness. Every industry whose birth and growth are features of this volume is the expression and witness of the beneficent principles of the freedom and liberty of individual action.

One hundred years ago the first cotton-mill was running with 250 spindles. Whitney discovered the cotton-gin, which created the wealth of the Gulf States and made the cotton industry over all the world tributary to them. Other inventors improved the machinery, and the single mill of one hundred years ago has expanded into 1,000, and the 250 spindles have increased to nearly 18,000,000. One hundred and one years ago the first wool-carding machine was put in operation, under the impulse mainly of American invention. There were in 1895 2,500 wool manufactories. The production of textile fabrics in this country supports 512,000 employees, paying to them in wages $176,000,000 yearly, and receives from the product $722,000,000. At the beginning of the century a few thousand tons of iron were manufactured. In 1890 the United States produced over 9,000,000 tons of pig-iron, being more than any other country; while in the manufactured products of iron and steel we are also in the advance of nations.

These astonishing figures are only the basic results of production, for from them collaterally flow car building, the miracles of the sewing-machine, of the vast employment and earnings of machinery manufacturing, of building and building materials, of the manipulation and composition of other metals, as silver and gold and copper and brass, of the singularly rapid rise of American glass interests, of the incalculable demands made upon furnace and mill and shop for railway appliances, of the immense production of utensils useful in domestic life and in agriculture, of the great supplies of material comprehended under the name of dry-goods, and of the machinery required for the telegraph, the telephone, and the creation of electrical energy.

The twentieth century will be a truth-seeking century. The nineteenth has been one of experiment. Invention and discovery have made the last fifty years of the nineteenth century the most remarkable of recorded time. Nature has been forced to reveal her secrets, and they have been utilized for the service of man. Lightning drawn from the clouds, through the experiment of Franklin, has become the medium of instantaneous globe-circling communication through the genius of Morse, of telephonic conversation by the discoveries of Bell, and the element of illumination and motive power by the marvelous gifts of Edison. Steam, which Fulton utilized upon the water and Stephenson upon the land, has created the vast system of transportation which has given the stimulus to agricultural and manufacturing products by which millions of people have been enabled to live in comfort where thousands formerly dwelt in misery and poverty. The forces of destruction, or rather the powers of destruction, have been so developed that while the nations of the earth are prepared for war as never before, the knowledge of its possibilities for the annihilation of life and property is so great that peace generally prevails. Physical progress and material prosperity have led to better living, broader education, higher thinking, more humane principles, larger liberty, and a better appreciation in preaching and in practice of the brotherhood of man over all the globe.

The nineteenth century closes with civilization more advanced in the arts and in letters than in the best days of Greece or Rome or the Renaissance; with a development in mechanical arts, in chemistry and in its appliances, in agriculture and in manufactures, beyond the experience of all preceding centuries put together. The political, social, and productive revolutions and evolutions of the period mark it as unique, beneficent, and glorious in the story of the ages. It has been the era of emancipation from bigotry and prejudice, from class distinctions and from inequalities in law, from shackles upon the limbs and padlocks upon the lips of mankind. It has been conspicuously the century of civilization, humanity, and liberty. As its presiding and inspiring genius looks proudly over the results, he may well say to the angel of the twentieth century, "You can admire, you can follow, but whither can you lead?"

The imaginary line drawn on the thirty-first day of December, 1899, between the past and the future cannot stop the wheels of

progress nor curb the steeds, instinct with the life of steam and electricity, which are to leap over this boundary in their resistless course. The twentieth century will be preëminently the period for the equitable adjustment of the mighty forces called into existence by the spirit of the nineteenth century, and which have so deranged the relations of capital and labor, of trades and occupations, of markets and commercial highways. There will come about a oneness of races and nationalities by which the moral sense of civilization will overcome the timidity of diplomacy to prevent or to punish such atrocities as are now being perpetrated in Armenia. The Turk will either adopt the laws and recognize the rights of life, liberty, and property commonly recognized among Christian nations, or his empire will be dismembered and distributed among the great powers of Europe. Militarism, which is crushing the life out of the great nations of the Continent, will break down through the burdens it imposes and the conditions it exacts. The peoples of those countries, groaning under this ever-increasing and eventually intolerable load, will revolt. They will teach their rulers that that peace is not worth the price which can only be maintained by armaments which are increased on the one side as rapidly as on the other, so that peace depends upon an equilibrium of trained soldiers and modern implements of war. They will discover closer ties of international friendship, which will strengthen year by year, and in the camaraderie of international commerce they will come to maintain amicable relations with one another before tribunals of arbitration and under the principles of justice. The world will discover, as we found in our own country in our Civil War, that a free people quickly respond to the call of patriotism to meet every requirement of war in defense of their nationality, and that armies of citizen soldiers, when the danger is passed, resume at once their places in the industries of the land. The twentieth century will realize the prophecy, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks."

The pessimist has proved with startling accuracy that with the exhaustion of fuel-supplies in the forests and in the coal-mines the earth can no longer support its teeming populations, and that we are rushing headlong into anarchy and chaos. The twentieth century will find in the methods of the production of electrical power an economy of fuel and an increase of force which will

accelerate progress and conserve our storage of supplies. Transportation both by land and by sea will be done solely by electricity. The same power will run the mills, the furnaces, and the factories. It will revolutionize and economize the processes of domestic life. It will shift and alter centers of production to places where electrical power can be more cheaply evolved, and that power will be utilized at long distances from its sources.

The hospitals of the world have reached their highest and best conditions in the nineteenth century for the care and cure of the sick and the injured. The hospitals of the twentieth century will perform this work as well, if not better, but they will also be schools of investigation and experiment. It is the peculiarity of each generation that it accepts as a matter of course that which was the astonishment and wonder of its predecessor. The antiseptic principle, which has made possible modern surgery—the discovery of a surgeon still living—is the commonplace of our day. So are the wonderful revelations which came through the trained brains and skilled hands of Pasteur and of Koch. Systematic and scientific research under liberal and favorable conditions will make the hospitals of the twentieth century the very sources of life. As the Gatling gun and the mitrailleuse enable the explorer in central Africa to disperse hordes of savages and open up unlimited territories for settlement and civilization, so will the leaders of the hospital laboratory produce the germicides which will destroy the living principles of consumption, of tuberculosis, of cancer, of heart, nerve, brain, and muscular troubles, and of all the now unknown and incalculable enemies which give misery and destroy life.

Continuing concentration and centralization of capital in great enterprises and in every field of production will be compelled by small margins of profit and the competition of instantaneous and world-wide communication. At the same time labor, more skilled, better educated, more thoroughly organized, finding a larger purchasing power in wages, and intelligently commanding its recognition by international compacts, will improve its condition, will find the means of quick and peaceable settlement with capital, and the relations of these two great forces will be much more beneficent and friendly.

Artists, whether with brush or chisel, or upon the lyric or dramatic stage, will require for success profounder study, broader

experience, and more universal masters; but they will discover these essentials in schools at convenient centers, not only of countries, but of territorial divisions of countries. The great artist who can produce a picture which will rank with the works of Raphael or Titian and of the best exponents of modern schools will receive as adequate reward as ever for his masterpieces, and at the same time the processes of copying by the assistance of nature and chemistry will be so accurate that, with a copyright, his revenues will be increased, and his picture, perfect in every detail and expression, as well as in its general effect, and cheaply reduplicated, can be the delight, the inspiration, and the instruction of millions of homes.

Then there will be an increase in socialistic ideas and tendencies. The aim will be for a full and complete experiment of the principles of State paternalism and municipal communism. As we face the future we have no doubts as to the result, nor do we doubt that the inherent vigor of nations is greater as their institutions rest upon the liberty of the individual; yet, like the French Revolution and the theories and experiments which carried away the best thought and the highest aspirations of our own country fifty years ago, the popular tendency is for the trial of these methods of escape from ever-present poverty and misery and old-age disability. Human nature, however, has in all ages manifested itself in the social organization according to its lights and its education. Light and intelligence both accompany opportunity and experiment, and control them; and the twentieth century will close with the world better housed and better clothed, its brain and moral nature better developed, and on better lines of health and longevity. It will also exhibit increased and more general happiness, and the relations of all classes and conditions with one another will be on more humane and brotherly lines than we find them as we look back.

Let us reckon American manufactures from the infancy of the cotton and wool production in 1794 at practically zero on the one side, and on the other Europe, with the accumulated capital of over a thousand years and the accretion of the skill of all the centuries. The race-course of progress was open to the Old World and the New. Father Time kept the score, and Liberty said, "Go." To-day, after one hundred years, the American farm has become the granary of the world; the American loom and spindle

and furnace and factory and mill supply the wants of 70,000,000 people in our land, and send annually $200,000,000 in value of product abroad for other countries. Europe, pushing forward on a parallel course, finds herself outstripped at the close of the century by this infant of its beginning in agricultural production, in manufactured products, in miles of telegraph and of railway, and in every element of industrial and material production and wealth. She finds one after another of her industries leaving her to be transplanted to this country, even with the conditions of labor, which makes up ninety per cent. of the cost of all manufactures, nearly fifty per cent. in her favor. American inventive genius has cheapened the cost of production on this side of the Atlantic to the advantage of American wages, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence have done the rest. Our population has grown from 3,000,000 to 70,000,000; our accumulated wealth from less than $100,000,000 to about $70,000,000,000; the number of our farms from probably about 100,000 to nearly 5,000,000; our agricultural products from just sufficient for the support of 3,000,000 people to an annual commercial value of $4,000,000,000. The workers upon our farms have increased from about 400,000 to 9,000,000; the operatives in our factories from a handful to 5,000,000; and their earnings from a few thousand dollars to $2,300,000,000. The increase in wages has been correspondingly great. Even since 1870, it has been sixty per cent. and the purchasing power of money has enhanced about the same. Our public-school system was very crude at the beginning of the century, and the contribution of the States for its support very small. Now we spend for education annually $156,000,000, as against $124,000,000 for Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy combined.

It is easy to see that Europe with its overcrowded populations, its more difficult and almost insoluble problems, and with the limitations imposed upon development and opportunity by its closely peopled territories, must advance in wealth and material prosperity and the bettering of the condition of the masses by destructive revolutions or by processes which are painfully slow. The United States, with a country capable of supporting a population ten times in excess of that with which this century closes, with its transportation so perfected that it can be quickly extended as necessity may require, with its institutions so elastic that expan-

sion strengthens instead of weakens the power of the Government and the cohesion of its States, will advance by leaps and bounds to the first place among the nations of the world, and to the leadership of that humanitarian civilization which is to be perfected by people speaking the English tongue.

SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY

HOW TO IMPROVE THE FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, NEW YORK TRIBUNE, JULY 9, 1905.

THE many social honors which were extended to Whitelaw Reid prior to his departure as Ambassador to the Court of St. James, the many editorials that were written, and the many speeches that were made, brought prominently before the public mind the important question of our diplomatic representation abroad. Opinions expressed were many and various.

There seems to have been a general consensus of opinion that in our representatives of the highest class, the men who have upheld our rights at Berlin, Paris and London, we are and ever have been most fortunate. Our ambassadors and ministers have been selected from a brilliant array of lawyers, literary men and scholars. They conceived their diplomatic responsibility in the highest way and brought to its fulfillment high culture, social refinement and broad experience of men in a manner that uniformly impressed the governments to which they were accredited and reflected no little honor upon the Government from which they came. Such men as White, Lowell, Phelps, in broad scholarship, Choate, in command of the law, are admirable exemplars of the American people, of any people. Their high standing at home and the respect in which they have been held abroad in nearly all cases have fully justified their selection.

But that even the best of them proved to be great diplomats cannot be said. Some brilliant victories have been scored by men like Adams and Cushing, but such achievements have been exceptional. Our diplomats who have distinguished themselves preëminently as diplomats are so few that they and their triumphs can be enumerated easily. But, as a class, our representatives at the great European capitals have been all that we might reasonably ask for, our ministers and ambassadors have been fully equal to the demand, equal in force and finesse to the representatives of other Governments against whom they have been matched. This is explained by the natural aptitude, if not genius, in many

Americans which enables them without any special training to deal with new and grave responsibilities in an able and dignified way.

But in all those grades of diplomatic appointments which lie below the highest class, we as a nation are and have been far below that European standard which is the world's standard. This has arisen largely from our geographical isolation and the comparatively few international questions of high importance which have arisen in our history. Another influential cause has been the fact that we are a republic and strongly prejudiced in favor of what we call republican simplicity as compared with the form and the ceremony, the "fuss" and the "feathers," which are not only invariable but necessary concomitants of monarchy. Moreover, we never, until the Spanish War forced us into the position of an active world power, had been called upon to adjust the vast number of international questions, small and large, which are now our daily task. As the war with Spain found us greatly unprepared as a military nation, so the natural diplomatic results of that war have found us equally unprepared as a diplomatic nation; and we are confronted with as great a need for reform in our system of diplomacy as the need which was made evident to us for change in our system for the conduct of war.

Of our second-grade representation, in fact, little that is favorable can be said. It is generally unworthy of a great nation. The appointment to such a post is the cock-feather that is used to adorn a retired governor, representative, or able political partisan. In most cases the consul-general or minor minister has never been outside of this country and knows nothing of the manners and customs of the people among whom fate and "The Administration" have placed him. He is ignorant of their language, and may, alas, have an exceedingly imperfect knowledge of his own. Of *savoir-faire* and *savoir-vivre* he has never heard. His assertion of his ideals of republican simplicity may not go so far as to make him seek nourishment through his knife at a public dinner or pick his teeth at a diplomatic table; but then again they may. The anecdotes of this kind are many and ludicrous, but they would be funnier if we were allowed to tell them against ourselves, instead of having to laugh at them when told by others. One's sense of humor in these cases is tempered by one's national pride, and like the Scotch we laugh with difficulty.

One classic of this kind relates to one of our consuls-general at a European capital. Upon his arrival there he sought and found an official residence at the top of an apartment-house which had no elevator. The effete monarchy and the elevator are new acquaintances. The residence was selected with a careful eye on his salary rather than upon his diplomatic responsibility. Once installed there, he had a hundred cards handsomely printed, which not only bore his official title but even mentioned certain public honors conferred upon him by appreciative townsmen at home, and, as has been said, they were handsomely printed. He then sat down and wrote an official note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, inclosing the cards. He said that he understood it to be customary that a newly arrived official in his position should formally call upon similarly accredited officials from other countries, but as he didn't know who they were he would be obliged if his excellency would send the cards to the proper addresses and explain the case.

Some of our consuls have done excellent and important work, which should not be overlooked and which is worthy of much praise. But as a class our consuls are of poor material; men who neither by instinct nor experience are fitted for such posts. Such places are bestowed as payment for political services and are sought and filled by men who are content with salaries of twelve to fifteen hundred dollars a year. And what sort of Americans must they be who will forego all chances of commercial, professional or political success for so paltry a sum and so brief a tenure of office? Are such men fit to represent such a nation as ours? They are rarely competent to send to Washington such commercial reports as can be relied upon. They are not equal to the only service whose proper performance would excuse their selection. And yet these consular reports are of the highest importance to the commercial progress and the industrial development of any country. Germany long ago learned this lesson, and has profited vastly by it in the extension of her foreign trade and the expansion of her home industries. And that beehive of up-to-date industry, Japan, has searched the economic conditions of the whole world for facts that can be used for her benefit, and is ardently continuing the search to-day through her consuls.

Bishop Potter told me after an extended tour in Europe that upon arriving in many places he sought the American consul in

order to learn the places and facts of interest in the country roundabout, the official regulations to be obeyed, and such other information as was essential to a traveler. He often found the consul in a blank state of ignorance concerning the country, the customs and the people, and was driven to the local agency of a touring company to obtain the facts that he needed. The consul, he said, was usually a peevish and unhappy person, bitterly complaining of the hardship of life in an uncongenial land and—unfailing topic—the meagerness of his salary.

The British and German consular services are models in every way. It is a *sine qua non* that their consuls shall know the languages of the countries to which they are sent. It is doubtful if our foreign appointees are asked regarding their acquaintance with any language. Comparatively few of them speak even French. We have had consuls at important Italian ports, such as Genoa or Naples, who retained their places through several administrations, but never developed sufficient talent or energy to acquire the most rudimentary comprehension of the tongue of the country. They were at the mercy of cheap, often illiterate, interpreters; their trade reports were compiled from second-hand information, filtered through the more or less opaque brains of their assistants. Such documents are worse than valueless to our manufacturers and agriculturists.

Every British consul on the continent is required to read and speak French and German, the languages in which nine-tenths of the commercial transactions are carried on. But we take a man from some far-inland town, a worthy citizen who never saw the sea, and locate him at a great seaport of Europe in the expectation that he will assist in the development of American trade. Can we be surprised that our foreign commerce is not what it should be, that Germany, for example, is crowding us out in many lines of goods in which we ought to lead because of the unrivaled excellence of American workmanship?

The average American consul does not understand the purpose for which he has been sent abroad. He appreciates the "honor," and swells up under it; but is neither alert, observing, nor studious of our opportunities. Generally, he says that he isn't paid enough to "hustle."

These conditions are due entirely to the faults of our system, by which politics is allowed to overshadow competency. We

must begin on new lines; we must train men to fill these posts, pay them better and insure them permanency and advancement, if they show ability and enthusiasm in their duties. In other words, we must inaugurate a training-school for future consular and diplomatic employees of the United States. We cannot hold our own with the better-equipped service of commercial and political rivals, unless we have the right kind of agents in all parts of the world.

I have already spoken about the British consular service. Now, a candidate who desires to enter the diplomatic service of Edward VII., as distinguished from the consular bench, is received with the understanding that he is entering upon his life's work. He is assumed to have a college and often a university education before he presents himself, because he must stand an examination in the regular branches of an academic education. He must be able to speak and read at least three languages. Especially must he be a student of history, and appreciate the achievements, comprehend the causes of failures in the past and foresee future emergencies in which another lamp than that of experience must light his course of action. He is encouraged to develop genius, if he has it in him.

The young Englishman begins as an attaché at an inferior legation, or in the lowest place of an important embassy. His qualifications have much more to do with his start than social or political influence. The power of influence is much less exercised over there than in this free and glorious republic. From the hour the novice takes office, he is watched and reported upon by his superiors. After he has served for several years, has shown development, mental and tactical, he is made a third secretary. He is encouraged to make suggestions directly to his chief; or his opinion is asked regarding nice points of diplomatic usage. This is not done for the purpose of gaining information, because the ambassador under whom he serves is a trained diplomat; rather is it in the line of the same education that the chief of that embassy received in the generation previous.

Able men who gave their whole lives to the foreign service took pride in teaching their secretaries what they had learned or what had been imparted to them. Sir Stratford de Redcliffe, the veteran diplomatist who represented England at the Sublime Porte for so many years, left to his country's diplomatic service a price-

less heritage in the score or more of men who were trained in his embassy. To have had a few years as a secretary under Sir Stratford's eye was to be a marked man in the service, supposedly equipped for any post, however important.

But unfortunately our secretaries too often are chosen for their capacity to lead the "german," or because their fathers make fabulous contributions to the national campaign funds. Such training as they would receive from a born diplomatist like Caleb Cushing would be wasted. Mr. Adee, the present second assistant Secretary of State, had the advantage of many years with Minister Cushing at Madrid, and the value of that schooling has often been manifest in the State Department.

When the Briton makes his first real achievement he is advanced to the important grade of first secretary. He is no longer young, but by the time he is forty, if he does not commit any glaring errors of judgment, he may hope to be appointed a minister. Thus rises the prospective ambassador through the various stages of his development. Supposing that he began at twenty-two, we comprehend that at least eighteen years are allowed for his unfoldment.

The contrasting conditions in our service hardly need pointing out. There is no preliminary preparation of any kind exacted of our ambassadors, ministers and secretaries. Their appointments are the political patronage of United States senators or representatives. The career of a diplomat, so-called, is generally contemporaneous with that of his sponsor or patron; the former follows the latter into private life. Of course, there have been a few exceptions, but, contrary to the oft-repeated maxim, exceptions prove nothing in either way.

Having attained the dignity of a world power, the United States should be ably represented at every court of the civilized globe. One often hears contemptuous remarks made about the uselessness of foreign diplomatic representation. They emanate from men who have no real conception of the duties of an ambassador; from critics who assume that the services of a diplomat consist in donning knee-breeches at certain state functions, and attending other gatherings at royal palaces, there to unite with decorated and wise-seeming marionettes in doing homage to the heads of effete monarchies. You could not convince such a person that the Secretary of State has not stenographers enough in

his office to conduct all the necessary "diplomatic correspondence." He would suggest that writing a letter, putting a stamp upon it and allowing the Postal Department to do the rest would meet any diplomatic need.

Nothing, however, could be more absurd than such an attempt to conduct negotiations with a foreign power. That letter never would reach its destination—no matter whose name it bore, some under-clerk would open it and toss it into a scrapbasket. That is not the method of maintaining friendly relations between the nations of Europe, and the various directors of governmental machinery who have had, say, a thousand years more of their own history to draw upon, are not to be swerved from their system of routine by the suggestions of a Government little more than a hundred years old. We cannot expect to break down formalities that are the growth of centuries. We may improve upon them, diplomacy may be made more frank and truthful; but its finesse must be retained, and the close human touch with the men who direct affairs never relaxed. This brings us to the real service of the diplomat, to answer to the old question: *Cui bono?*

Ambassadors of the proper kind are the most important members of the executive machinery of modern government. Much as they may be in evidence or display at public functions, such, for example, as an international reunion at the Elysée or the Guildhall, their chief duty is to keep their home ministry or cabinet in personal touch at the foreign offices of the nations to which they are accredited. The ambassador's post is that of an observer. His person is sacred, his residence is regarded as foreign territory while he is in occupation, to be guarded from invasion by every form of force that the sheltering nation can extend to a friendly guest. An efficient ambassador should know to the slightest details the foreign policy of the nation that accords him hospitality. He never must allow his own chief to be taken unawares. He should be as keen to foresee the trend of events, to comprehend the aims, ambitions or preparations of the ministry or cabinet he has under observation, as is the doyen among his associates—the oldest and shrewdest head among them, if you please. As is said in the journalistic world, "He must have a nose for news" and must not be "beaten." He must be a student of the philosophy of contemporaneous events, of history, as it is making under his

eyes. If he lacks any of these qualities, he will prove inefficient and should not be where he is.

The late Lord Pauncefote was an ideal diplomatist. Without prejudice to anybody, he possessed more of these qualities than any other ambassador or minister I have known. And his transcendent preëminence was due to the maintenance of friendly personal relations with everybody in Washington worth knowing. He gave admirable dinners, made his round of calls with studied punctuality and never forgot anything he heard which ought to be remembered. Therefore, he accomplished many things which a less skilful British representative would have failed to achieve.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty never would have been concluded had not the energies of this clever, strong personality been exercised upon the Senate. At the time, I doubt if any member of that body was conscious of the arguments in behalf of the treaty that were casually presented or of the objections which were deftly answered across the ambassador's board. The subject never was obtruded; it always appeared to come up so naturally as not to attract notice to the preconceived intent that it should form part of the conversation. That was the art of diplomacy.

In course of the Boer War, sporadic outbreaks of sympathy for the struggling heroes on the veldts of South Africa appeared in and out of Congress. Lord Pauncefote redoubled his activity. Never did he give so many or such excellent dinners. He deplored the imperative necessity of inevitable subjection. He extolled, always, the bravery of the Boers—adding in the next breath that heroes in warfare, once they were fairly and honorably defeated, made the most loyal citizens thereafter. Then he would capture a Southern vote by extolling the valor of the men who fought for the cause of the Confederacy, and point the moral that nowhere in this broad land were hearts more truly loyal to-day than among the men who wore the gray. The next bit of finesse, as likely as not, would be a pat upon the back, metaphorically, for some prominent Senator who was not present but who was sure to be told of the ambassador's compliment. Sympathy for the Boers never gained ground at Washington, despite the efforts of several good talkers on the floor of the House. This was due to Pauncefote's ceaseless activity. It was worth doing, and he did it thoroughly.

The United States must prepare for the great change of its

position in the family of nations. Ambassadors must be better paid and be chosen with the one eye to efficiency. Party must not have an influencing voice in the selection. If the best man for a difficult foreign post is of another party, the President should not hesitate to appoint or the Senate to confirm. Mere ability to support in the necessary extravagancies of such a nation at the showy court functions, or to maintain an establishment at the capital that costs five times the amount of salary paid by this Government, should not influence an appointment. That may do for Siam, or Afghanistan, or Persia, or Turkey; but for the mighty powers of Continental Europe we want men—men of brains, men of courage, and chief of all requisites, men of experience. They must be the product of growth, of development gained in the only school whereat they can be taught.

The creation of an academy, under the control of the State Department, like the two great institutions at West Point and Annapolis, is an impossibility. Diplomacy cannot be learned in a classroom. It must be a life-work, and the men who show diligence and ability in its acquirement should be pushed to the front and given a large hand in shaping the destiny of our country.

That is the school of diplomacy that I mean, its curriculum to be the book of human life and of national destiny.

AGRICULTURAL ADDRESS

SPEECH ON AGRICULTURE, AT HORNELLSVILLE, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 24, 1904.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It has occurred to me that we might profitably employ the brief time set apart for discussion in a review of the farmer's advance materially and otherwise and a few suggestions relative to the aid which the State and the Government might give in promoting that agriculture which is the basis of our prosperity, our employment and our wealth.

The industrial progress of the United States did not practically begin until the close of the Civil War. Prior to that time American enterprise had been handicapped by the tremendous issues of freedom and slavery. A country can survive the discussion of economic and financial institutions without interfering with its material progress, but moral issues which engage the attention of both the brains and the consciences, which involve churches and schools, paralyze by the passions evoked commerce, inventions and industries. On the 9th of April, 1905, forty years will have elapsed since the Civil War closed at Appomattox. These four decades have been the most remarkable in the history of the world. Each one, while astonishing the statistician, and giving a promise of completion, has only been by its achievement and its beneficence a stimulus to the succeeding. This progress has not been confined to the United States, but its measure has been infinitely greater in our country than in any other. The States reunited, labor free from chains and stains, we entered upon a new era. We had the largest debt of any country in the world, half of our land was devastated by the ravages of war, State and municipal obligations had enormously increased, wild speculation plunged the country into the bankruptcy of 1873 and we were struggling under financial delusions and practices which would have been fatal to any other people. From the ruin of 1865 and the financial wreck of 1873, the United States has advanced until it is first among the great powers, its debt the least and the least burdensome, its industrial output, its

agricultural production and its exports to foreign lands, greater than any other country's. We are supporting to-day 80,000,000 of people in more comfort, the owners of more homes, the possessors of larger opportunities of every kind to make life worth the living, than were the thirty millions at the close of the Civil War. Statisticians and political economists have filled libraries with the industrial triumphs of these forty years, but have failed to note in the main how splendidly the farms have first stimulated and then accompanied every industrial advance. The number of farms owned in 1870 were 2,659,985, the number of acres under cultivation were 188,921,099, the total value of farm products was $1,958,030,927, the total amount exported to other countries was $361,188,485, while at the close of 1900 the number of farms owned were 5,737,372, acres under cultivation were 414,498,487, value of farm products $3,764,177,706, and the amount exported to other countries in 1903 was $873,322,882. These results have made the United States the granary of the world. The vast agricultural areas in Russia, in India, in Asia and Africa might be brought into successful competition if they had American farms with their eager adoption of modern ideas and up-to-date inventions. But that has not happened and will not. The competition is impossible, not only from racial considerations but from governmental depressions and repressions which it will take centuries to change. The first element of settlement of the land and then success in working it is transportation. With every mile of railroad 100,000 acres of new land have been brought into settlement or under cultivation and from 1870 the number of miles of railway in the United States have increased from 52,922 to 274,835 in 1903. Transportation per ton per mile has gone down from the prohibitive point of 2½ cents to .65 cent. This last, just one-quarter the rates of England and on the Continent of Europe, has enabled us with the improvement of ocean navigation and rates to place our cereals in Great Britain upon better terms than our continental competitors who are the neighbors of the market.

But on this line of transportation, there is another most happy element, and that is the trolley. I came early to the belief that every invention is a blessing. At one time labor was afraid of machinery and yet machinery has increased the productive power beyond the limits of calculation. Before the tremendous discov-

eries and inventions and utilization of power in the last forty years, without going into the regular statistics, I should say that almost ninety per cent. of the wage earners of the United States were in the class known as unskilled labor and receiving the wages which belong to that condition. But with the duplication of force by invention, by steam and by electricity, the vast majority of wage earners to-day are in the skilled artisan class and receiving the competence which is always gained by skill and brains as well as manual effort.

In the same way the early farmer resisted the introduction of machinery of all kinds because of the expense. In the same way the railroad manager has and many of them still have apprehension in regard to the extension of the trolley, but my own judgment is that as in all other cases, the trolley becomes instead of a drain a feeder to the great continental lines. It is the trolley which has brought the farm and the town in close communication. It gives to the farmer and his family the opportunity, impossible before, of frequent visits to centers of activity and of the benefit of a quick and ready market. It has added immeasurably to the comfort, the happiness and the broadening of the farmer's life when to the trolley has been added the telephone and a unification of country and town has been brought about which is one of the miracles of the age. The "hayseed" of caricature and of the humorist writer no longer exists in real life. You find him only upon the stage and in comic pictures. The farmer and the man of the town cannot be told apart and the rustic lover no longer fears the clothes and the accomplishments of the city beau. The peace of communities is better because of these improvements. In the old time the lover would drive miles to see the girl of his choice and find there his rival in her affections. Then the two aspirants for her hand would proceed to the trial of endurance of sitting each other out. Many a young lady, when conversation has failed, subjects are exhausted, and this stubborn effort was made, became the victim of nervous prostration. But to-day he calls up his fair friend on the telephone and she appoints the hour when she will be at home, naming it from the time-table of the trolley; and he comes down on the trolley and unbeknown to him, his rival, who has been doing his best work beforehand, gets on the other side of the same car and hies him away. The harmony of the neighborhood is complete.

We now naturally come to a subject of the most vital interest to the farmer and to the consumer and which has been neglected from the first settlement of the country until within the last ten years. There is great opportunity to enhance the value of farms, to increase the earnings of the farm, and to add to the general prosperity of the country in the making and maintaining of good country roads than there has been in the construction of steam railroads and trolley lines. It is a happy omen for the future of our State and of every State which is giving attention to this subject that interest in the matter is rapidly increasing. It was not until 1898 that the State intervened to perform its proper share in this great and beneficent work. Under the laws then enacted, the State pays fifty per cent., the county thirty-five per cent., and the town the balance for improving the highways. There are in round numbers 74,000 miles of dirt roads outside of the incorporated cities and villages in our State. There are 8,000 miles of steam railroads and about the equivalent number of miles of what might be designated as main highways to which all others are contributary. For the purposes of transportation we have also 522 miles of canals and 1,618 miles of trolley lines, but the nnm-ber of trolleys outside of the cities is, as yet, not very large. Not to weary you with figures, it has been estimated by the authorities of the Department of Agriculture and of the State Engineer and Surveyor's Office of our own State, that highways, up to the best modern standard would add from $10 to $15 an acre to the value of the farm lands tributary to them, would add $15 a year to the earnings of every horse and would place to the credit of the farms $10,000,000 a year in the decreased cost of transportation of their products. We must remember that the dirt road of the present and of our ancestors is practically useless for several months in the year, while the improved road would be at the service of the public the whole year around. The cost of maintenance of the improved road would be far less than that would be now expended in what is called the maintenance and improvement of the country highways. We spend $3,000,000 a year in days' labor upon our roads with the result that if our fathers came from their graves on a tour of inspection, they might be pleased to see that nothing had changed from their day. When I was practicing law in the country, it took me nearly eight hours in the spring of the year to drive through the mud twelve miles to

the court house for which I was bound. I have just returned from a short tour upon the Continent of Europe. There is nothing in the Old World of which we cannot boast of better except their cathedrals, their antiquities, and their highways. The average cost of haul for the farmer from his home to the market in the United States is more than three times what it is in any of the continental countries. This is explicable when you find that France alone has contributed out of the national treasury for her roads about $24,000,000. It is a source of national mortification that while the breed, endurance, speed and constitution of the American horse is as good as that of any country in the world, he can only do one-half as much as his brother in the Old World, because of his handicap of primitive highways which are so far below the modern and up-to-date roads of these ancient civilizations. I believe that if the bonding scheme which has been suggested should be submitted as a constitutional amendment to the voters of our State and an educational campaign conducted in its favor, it would be unanimously adopted. Under it the State would be bonded for $50,000,000, under which it would assume one-half, the counties $17,500,000, and the towns $7,500,000. The State would manage and finance the whole operation, remitting to the counties and towns the amount necessary to be raised each year for their one-half of the interest and sinking funds. The State, counties or localities would hardly feel the burden, for the bonds would be extended for fifteen years, and this large sum would become available at the rate of $2,000,000 a year for road-building. During the last session of Congress a suggestion, and a mere suggestion in its progress, was made in the same direction, by an act known as the Brownlow Bill. Under this Congress was to appropriate $24,000,000, $8,000,000 of which was to be given to the States each year in amounts proportionate to population, except that no State should receive less than $275,000. Under this act the State of New York would receive from the Federal Government $2,100,000. The measure was received by Congress with mighty little favor. I believe, however, if the citizens would appeal properly to their representatives progress could certainly be made. The National Government is far from niggardly in internal improvements. It contributed lands which have produced vast sums for the building of continental railways. It is appropriating year by year thirty to fifty

millions of dollars for the improvement of rivers and harbors. It is setting aside enormous areas for forest reserves. It is expending vast sums for a Navy which shall protect our commerce and our people all over the world. It is caring for the saviors of the country in pensions, beyond the cost of the military armies of the powers of the Old World and it can gain to meet these expenditures by the increase to the national wealth not only the sum running up into vast figures in the addition to values, but in the impetus given to the productive power of the lands of our country. When we consider that it costs 26 cents per ton per mile for hauling farm products upon our highways and that the same sum carries that ton 300 miles on the railroad, the demonstration is complete of the enormous saving which would result from the good roads reducing this cost to at least ten cents and perhaps six. In States like New York, where the farms are so close to the market, the New York farmer with good roads would be more than equalizing the cheaper lands and the cheap transportation of the West with which he comes in competition if he could add to his short haul to the railroad station by the highway as compared with his Western competitor this decrease in cost upon a dirt road which is so much more easily to be secured by us than is possible in these more sparsely settled communities. Of the wage earning and productive people of the United States 13,100,000 are engaged in manufacturing, in the trades, in transportation, in industries and in the professions, but there are 10,400,000 of solid yeomen who are cultivating the soil and producing new wealth which keeps moving ever in the country and brings to us from the surplus that balance of trade which is rapidly making the world our debtor. In fact since we became such a great exporting country, exporting so much in excess of our imports, the balance of trade has always been against us in lines outside of agriculture, while the products of the farms have made up this deficiency and for a number of years made the surplus in our favor over $300,000,000 a year.

When an American meets the ruling spirits in government, trade, or finance on the other side of the ocean the question is frequently put to him, is the extraordinary and almost miraculous growth and expansion in the productive power of the United States due wholly to its being a new country and to having fresh areas brought into cultivation, new mines opened, and new indus-

tries stimulated because of increased populations and settlements? It is charged that we are a nation of braggarts, that we are boastful not only of the things of which we have a right to be proud, but far beyond our merits and achievements. But without boastfulness, within the strictest limits of the most modest statements, we, as Americans, would claim that our growth and progress and development, wonderful as it is, would have been impossible, notwithstanding the natural advantages of the areas within the boundaries of the United States, except for the institutions under which we live. We owe everything to a government of the people and by the people, to institutions which are founded not upon past distinctions, but upon the equal worth of every individual.

I met within the last few weeks many interesting, important, and highly informed people of other countries. The one subject which is receiving attention in Europe beyond all others, as it occupies also much of ours, is the condition of Russia and the outcome in her internal affairs more than in her territorial ambitions or her war with Japan. Some of these friends have possessed unequaled opportunities to study the Czar and the conditions surrounding him. The combination and condensation of their judgment was that he is a young man of the highest character, with high ideals of excellent ability, very religious and conscientious, that, having been consecrated, as part of his office of Czar, head or pope of the Greek Church, he firmly believes that he rules by divine right. He has the welfare of his people and the spread of the empire at heart, but believes that he alone has been commissioned by God to protect the people and the interests of his vast realm. He therefore assumes all the well-known perils of his position, its labors and responsibilities as an act of religion and patriotism, but in the government of one hundred and thirty millions of people of different races, stretching over two hemispheres he can know and judge and have his judgment formed only by what his informants choose to permit to come before his eyes. While he understands and appreciates thoroughly the value of constitutional government in countries like the United States and Great Britain, where it exists, he as firmly believes that both racially and by heredity the Russians are not capable of it. Believing that, he thinks that any surrender of autocratic power to the people in a large measure would lead to anarchy or destruction of peace and property and the ruin of the

empire. Therefore the contest between ancient and modern ideas in Russia is not with the people, but to gain over the power and the influence of one man. There were two subjects of the Czar, both of humble origin, who had worked their way to the front and possessed remarkable ability and courage. One was Witte and the other Plehve. Witte as finance minister had been brought in contact with the leading minds of Europe in the placing of his loans and the maintenance of the national credit. He conceived that the future of Russia and the safety of the throne was to grasp as far as possible the spirit of the nineteenth century and let it work as far as possible in Russian development. He built railroads, he organized industries, he invited capital for manufacturing, and cultivated domestic production to supply the home market that results in a modifying way, so familiar with us, of the market and the farm being brought together, of the farm laborer finding other occupations for his children than agriculture, and the improvement in wages and conditions in towns and cities. In all work, the greater the skill the greater the intelligence, and with intelligence came the assertion of the right of the laborer to his proper share in the product of his work. This revolution alarmed the conservatives about the Czar, the believers in absolute autocracy and those who feared the people. Plehve became the representative of their ideas, displaced Witte, gained the confidence of the Czar, employed the enormous resources of the government without restraint and all his single will to stop the wheels of progress, and to turn them back until the conditions of the sixteenth century were repeated not only in Russia proper but in the more enlightened communities which had been gained by annexation, like Finland and the Baltic provinces. Liberalism, no matter how patriotic, aspirations for constitutional government and for bringing Russia up to the par of her neighbors in institutions and intelligence, were sternly suppressed. The prisons were filled, Siberia crowded and the suppression of the liberty of Finland, the trouble in the Baltic provinces and the outrages upon the Jews, followed as a natural sequence. While American agriculture advanced by leaps and bounds, the agriculture of Russia stands still or retrogrades, and while our industrial development is beyond the most optimistic dreams of four decades ago, that of Russia has made little progress. For here our ruler is the people's choice for the hour, to be rewarded or

reduced to the ranks as the people think him worthy or unworthy. Here education is universal, is supported by taxation and is wholly in the hands of the fathers and mothers of the youths. Here the poorest with the ballot in his hand, is the equal for every purpose of government to the richest and the most powerful, who can only hold a similar ballot in his hand.

In France there is a halt because of an agitation over that most vexing of questions, the relations between the Church and the State. The State has taken the education of its youth entirely from the Church and the friction has gone on with the suppression of the Orders and the confiscation of Church property, until now both Church and State are facing the concordat made by Napoleon and the Pope nearly a hundred years ago, under which the State out of the National treasury, by a contribution of about eight million dollars a year, supports the clergy and maintains the churches. Happily no such controversy is possible with us. Fortunately our fathers saw that such conditions existed nowhere else, that Church and State must be absolutely divorced. After the experience of a hundred years, our Government is the most tolerant and religious liberty here most secure, because the State may not interfere with man's conscience, and the Church is more spiritual, fuller of vitalizing power, more aggressive, educational and uplifting, because it must depend for its support and its existence upon those whom it must convince and comfort.

Ladies and gentlemen, as you walk through these buildings and traverse the ground, as you see here the evidences of that prosperity which makes a healthy State and a prosperous community, comfortable homes, happy families and joyous children, remember that it is all due to the institutions founded with unequaled wisdom by the fathers of the Republic.

TRANSPORTATION CLUB DINNER

SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE TRANSPORTATION CLUB, NEW YORK, JANUARY 22, 1907.

GENTLEMEN: It is a great pleasure to meet you here again. I have enjoyed that privilege on nine successive occasions, but last year was prevented by the first serious illness of my life. Happily, we of Hudson River stock, with a frugal-living and hard-working ancestry, require more than one campaign to knock us out. In one of my many railway accidents, when I was the only occupant of the sleeping car and running special at a high rate of speed, the locomotive smashed through a coal train, which was crossing the track, and scattered anthracite all over Western New York. I was hurled up against the top of the car, then down onto the bed, and then into the aisle of the car on my feet. I said to the negro porter—who had been thrown the whole length of the car and landed on his head—as we both stood together unhurt, because I had struck on my feet, which was my strongest point, and he had struck on his head, which was his strongest point, "What is the matter, Bob?" He said, "I reckon we struck something." But then, as now, I landed on my feet.

There was one pleasing incident connected with my sickness. After the report was spread abroad that my recovery was impossible, gentlemen whom I never knew to care for me before became uncommonly solicitous in regard to my health. I felt like saying to some of them, as Charles II. did to his courtiers waiting for his demise, "I beg your pardon, gentlemen, for the unconscionable time I am taking in dying."

With the close of 1906 I rounded out my forty years' service with the railroads and my tenth successive election as president of this club. It is an occasion for reminiscence, and, happily, in both relations the recollections are most agreeable and gratifying.

When I entered the railway service, as an attorney, the railway systems of the United States had been largely created and were dominated by three very amiable men—Commodore Vanderbilt, Thomas A. Scott and John W. Garrett. It was my privilege to know all three of them, and one of them intimately. The

type was characteristic of the time, and of that order of originality, farsightedness and audacity which belong to the great eras of economic and industrial development, and I will say now for the Vanderbilt management, which has been continuous in the first, second and third generations, that in the management of their properties they have always been unanimously sustained by the votes of their stockholders, and in their development the stockholders have shared equally, in proportion to their holdings, in all increases in values.

Transportation is our subject to-day. A history of the development of our land and water carriage of these forty years, with its effect upon the settlement and growth of the country, would fill a library, while a like review for the last ten years would need a large volume.

I shall inflict all this neither upon you, gentlemen, nor, out of regard for the speakers on whose time I am trespassing, upon them. But to throw a picture upon the wall, when I entered the service there were thirty thousand miles of railroads in the United States. To-day there are two hundred and twenty-three thousand miles. In that day most of the mileage was single track. To-day it is two, three and four tracks, adding nearly a hundred thousand more to the figures represented by the two hundred and twenty-three thousand miles. There were then one hundred and fifty thousand employees. Now there are one million, four hundred thousand. The wages paid now are fifty per cent. more than then for the same service; there were paid in wages at that time less than one million of dollars, while last year the employees of railroads received about eight hundred and forty millions. Then the cars had a carrying capacity of ten tons; now from twenty-five to fifty tons. The rails were sixty-five pounds; now eighty, ninety and one hundred pounds. The locomotives were of twenty tons; now one hundred tons. The train loads have increased five times in amount. Then the capitalization of the railroads in stocks and bonds was but a small proportion of the investments of the United States, while now fifteen thousand millions of capitalization is the foundation for investment and security of the rich and poor alike, as individuals or in savings banks.

The attraction of railroad stocks or registered bonds is that if lost they can be replaced and that they are safe from great conflagrations and earthquakes.

The railroads received last year two billion, one hundred and twelve million, one hundred and ninety-seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy dollars in gross receipts; but out of that one billion, five hundred millions were paid in operating expenses. The whole of this vast sum, distributed to the employees and the supply people, found its way into every department of American industry and labor. While eight hundred and forty millions were paid out to the employees directly, and six hundred millions to labor indirectly for materials and supplies, only one hundred and ninety-three millions were paid to the stockholders.

It must be remembered that when I became a railroad man the rails were all imported from England, and a large proportion of other railway supplies. To-day all of them are manufactured in America with American capital and American labor.

While the railway employees at that time formed but a small part of the electorate, when you add to the one and a half millions directly upon the pay-rolls the men who dig out the ore from the mines, and those who turn the ore into rails, fish-plates and spikes, and those whose finished product comes in the shape of the cars upon the tracks, there are at least one-fifth of the voters dependent upon the railways for their living.

We have grown independent of the world in every necessity. From producing little or no iron at the beginning of this period, we are now producing one-half of the iron products of the world, and we have become one of the largest manufacturers of steel. The farms of the country have increased in value from 1890 in the enormous sum of six thousand, five hundred millions of dollars, while within the last twenty-five years the prosperity of our workers and wage-earners has been such that the number of depositors has grown from two million, three hundred thousand to eight millions, and the deposits from eight hundred millions to three thousand millions.

In the years of railway expansion, after 1850 until 1893, the construction largely exceeded the needs of the country. The result was that one-third of our railway properties went into bankruptcy, and the losses reached figures that staggered the imagination. Our foreign immigration was of a high class and moved for settlement along the lines of the roads as fast as they were constructed, until our agricultural products were also largely in excess of the domestic demands and of foreign markets. The

result was that corn and wheat fell below the cost of production and the life of the American farmer became one of burden and anxiety. But with the increase in manufactures and the tremendous increase in the number of those engaged in manufacturing from three millions in 1880 to six millions in 1906, in round numbers, the demand for food products grew at a phenomenal pace, so that to-day the value of farm lands is about six thousand millions more than it was fifteen years ago. This tremendous and unprecedented growth of manufacturing enterprises over our vast territory, and of agricultural products to meet the demands of budding villages and manufacturing towns, and abnormally increasing cities, has reversed the conditions of the railroads as they were ten years ago.

Now the plant is insufficient to meet the demands of the country, and the country is growing more rapidly than railway mileage or equipment construction. The demands are greater upon the car shops and locomotive works than can be supplied. The demand for labor is greater than can be secured for construction and extension. For the first time in our history there is a labor famine from the Atlantic to the Pacific. American enterprise, constructive genius, and capital have always been equal to the needs of the country, and will be again.

I am not one of those who fear that socialism, or advanced radicalism, or untried theories put into unwise practice are to be carried into effect to such an extent as to produce financial or industrial paralysis.

I believe that these great corporations should be under the rigid supervision of the States and of the general Government. While it is plain that the Government acquisition of fifteen billions of railway property, and the sort of management that would ensue in its administration, would lead to dangerous results beyond the imagination to picture, it is also demonstrated by the experience of the older States, like Massachusetts and New York, which have had railway commissions, that supervision and control promote the public safety, the interests of the producing and transporting public, and the investment of those who as capitalists or savings bank depositors derive their incomes from railroad bonds and stocks.

The American people want more railways built, and they believe that those who take the risk should have a fair return

upon their money. The millions who, by direct or indirect investment, by deposits in savings banks and other institutions, and that vast army of labor, comprising one-fifth of our electorate, dependent upon railway prosperity, are the substantial basis for the safety of the present and the growth of the future.

Forty years of intimate association with railway men, of every rank in the service, and fifteen years in an executive position, have taught me that they compare most favorably with those who are employed in other productive pursuits. They are good citizens, industrious, energetic and intelligent, and loyal to the service, to their families and to the State.

MASONIC FRATERNITY DINNER

SPEECH AT THE DINNER GIVEN TO MR. FREDERICK C. WAGNER BY THE MASONIC FRATERNITY, AT DELMONICO'S, OCTOBER 31, 1908.

WORSHIPFUL MASTER AND BRETHREN: I have broken a political engagement made for me by a member of the Cabinet because the attractions of this gathering overcome any possible political advantages. This is more than a meeting of Masons, which is always interesting. It is a tribute to one of my oldest and most valued friends. The fact that to-night celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the entrance of our guest into the fraternity is an event in its history. Of all the Masons in the world, there are few who have to their record a half century of membership. I am following closely upon my brother, because I was initiated in July, 1861, so I am two years behind him in Masonry and four in the annals of birth.

When we consider that Masonry has attracted men in all walks of life, and of every degree of culture and acquirement, men who have contributed largely to the marvelous advance in every department of human endeavor which characterized the nineteenth century, these fifty years assume an interest greater than the occasion which calls us together. The student of history may search through all the half centuries of recorded time and he will find none in which it was such a privilege to have lived as from 1858 to 1908. Other periods of like extent have had their dynastic changes, their conquests and defeats of governments and peoples, their historic battles on land and sea, but all of them together do not combine the contributions to the welfare of the human race which mark our period. The miracles of the day during this time have become such commonplaces that they seem always to have existed. We, who like our brother, reached the period of manhood before 1858 can hardly realize that for nearly half of these fifty years we had none of the things without which, having become accustomed to them, life would not now be worth the living. The practical application of the invention of Bessemer

to steel rails in 1864 reduced their cost from one hundred and seventy-five to twenty-six dollars a ton. This process in the arts and in mechanics made possible cheap transportation, and cheap transportation has peopled the wilderness and created great States. It has bound all parts of our country together by ribs of steel. It has energized manufacturers and enabled millions to live in comfort where none of them could have found employment before. To it we owe steel bridges supplanting wood which have spanned rivers and reduced the cost of transportation, enabling workers in congested centers to live in healthful surroundings and enormously developing the producing-power of the world.

Words cannot describe, nor are they within the range of calculation, the masses of figures which tell how much of human comfort, of increase of production, of development of resources; and in the last and most beneficent analysis, human happiness, education and better living for the masses, have come from inventions in electricity and discoveries of the uses of petroleum and natural gas. All these come within the time we are now discussing.

We could not live without the telephone. Our business and social life would be interrupted and disintegrated if it ceased to work. We could not go back to the period when we got along without it, nor can we understand now how we did. But the telephone was a scientific toy first exhibited at the Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia in 1876, thirty-two years ago. To-day the telephonic system has three hundred thousand miles of wire. There are nearly a million telephones and over a thousand million conversations a year.

The trolley came to us with all its possibilities to the city and the suburbs in 1888, twenty years ago, while the electric motor as a practical power came into use in 1880, twenty-eight years ago.

It is impossible to estimate or overestimate the importance to the world of the under-sea cables. They have done more to promote commerce and peace than all the agencies of all the ages. Yet they were not practicable until 1866, forty-two years ago.

In this hasty review, the only thing possible on an occasion like this, I have barely sketched the contributions of this half century to the material welfare of the world. I do not sympathize with those who are internally declaiming against material

advancement. Any discovery or invention which adds to the world's wealth, and with it to its productive power, and its opportunities for employment, for advancement, for independence and for better living, prepares the way for Christianity and for the preacher and the teacher. It broadens the field and prepares the soil for the lessons of our ancient fraternity. But this half century is equally distinguished for its contributions to the prolongation of human life and the alleviation of human suffering. In 1896, only twelve years ago, though it seems to us now that it must have been a hundred, Röntgen discovered the X-ray. We all remember the consternation it caused when first introduced. For a while it was a scientific toy. I remember when Edison first exhibited its wonders at the Madison Square Garden. He showed that it would reveal the contents of the safe, and no metal, wood or fabric could resist its penetrating influence and disclosures. Through the flesh the bones of the hands and arms were disclosed as if in skeleton form, and the woolen, silk or cotton clothing was no protection. A fat woman who was in the party witnessing its wonders jumped up suddenly and fled, crying, "This is no place for me. I do not propose to let you people see all my belongings." It was not long before the surgeon found its possibilities. Instead of searching with the knife with results more often fatal than successful, Röntgen's X-ray now shows where the bullet is lodged, the fracture in the bone, or the seat of the trouble.

There is no other profession in which discoveries have been so beneficial as in surgery. The anæsthetic has relieved it of the horrible tortures of former times, and the antiseptic of the frightful results of mortification and corruption. Fifty years ago appendicitis was unknown, as such, and killed ninety-six out of every hundred it attacked, but now ninety-six out of every hundred are saved. The same is true with cancer of the stomach and with injuries to the brain. Discoveries made within the past few years have removed the terrors from those heretofore most perilous diseases, diphtheria and rabies. Opening the chest or abdomen killed ninety-eight out of every hundred and now the operation is performed successfully on ninety-eight out of every hundred. To sum up what has been done for surgery and medicine in the last fifty years, it is safe to say that accuracy has taken the place of experiment, and that the blind are made to

see, the lame to walk, and the diseased to become healthy in a broad average of eighty out of a hundred, where the reverse was true before.

We have witnessed with admiration, with National pride and singular satisfaction the voyage of our battleship fleet around the world. We have felt, as it has been received in the ports and among the peoples of other lands, that it has promoted peace and good-will among Nations. It is hard to conceive, as we gaze at these wonderful floating fortifications, that the first suggestion of a battleship was the little *Monitor* in 1863.

On the intellectual side of our lives we have had the inspiration and the enjoyment of Hawthorne, Poe, Lowell, Holmes, Emerson and Longfellow in our country, and of Tennyson, Carlisle, Dickens and Thackeray in the mother land.

The marvels of this half century naturally raise the question as to the continuance of this progress during the next half century. I think the period upon which we are now entering will be one rather of development than of discovery. Electricity will be substituted for steam on the railroads, and electrical power, transmitted long distances from its creation at waterfalls, will cheapen manufacture and production and minimize the danger of the exhaustion of our coal and wood. These are simply enlarging the discoveries of the period we are here to-night to celebrate. Science may develop some new particle of matter possessing larger possibilities than radium, but the laboratory will be rather making possible and practical present suggestions than finding new marvels.

The younger generation who have never been initiated into Masonry will naturally say, "Well, what has all this to do with your order?" It is necessary to show how in the midst of all these miracles Masonry has remained for centuries just the same, to show its merits. Its life is spiritual, not temporal or material. The traditional founder of our fraternity was Hiram, the Master Mason in the building of Solomon's temple. His was an age of destructive wars and inhuman cruelty. Each race was the bitter enemy of every other. The principles of the Hague tribunal, which are also a part of our last half century, would have been the ridicule of Hiram's time, when the destruction of whole peoples was a religious pastime. He had under him men from Egypt, Abyssinia and all parts of the known world, who

had brought with them the materials which Solomon had purchased for his temple. Hiram conceived the idea of uniting them all upon the principle and practice of brotherly love and mutual assistance. If reincarnated after three thousand years of sleep he should arrive in New York, Brooklyn Bridge, the subway, the elevated road and the skyscraper would be beyond his comprehension, but if he entered a Masonic lodge he would feel at home.

Our order rests on the eternal foundations of faith, hope and charity. We honor our brother, Colonel Wagner, to-night because during the whole of his life he has illustrated these principles. To the brother in despair or distress he has given hope, to the ambitious brother he has been an inspiration, and in his own conduct he has been the best teacher of charity. He has contributed time from his business and his pleasures, and as much as he ought from his means to the humane side of the work of the Masons and in promoting the comfort of those who are in our charitable homes. May he be with us on his centennial, a living proof of the virtues of Masonry and its powers for happiness and longevity.

FRIAR'S SUPPER TO JOHN DREW

SPEECH AT THE SUPPER GIVEN TO MR. JOHN DREW BY THE FRIARS, AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 31, 1908.

ABBOT AND FRIARS: At half past ten this evening I was delivering an address at a Masonic gathering. It is a pleasure at 2 a.m. to vary the entertainment and meet and be greeted by those who contribute so much to the pleasure and happiness of our lives—the players. It is a prescription of the modern medical faculty if you want to live long to introduce variety into your life. I think the practice of this advice for many years is what makes me feel as young to-night, with three score and fifteen to my record, as I did when it was only one score and fifteen.

I was delighted to hear the charming speech of our guest, John Drew. I have been delighted for years with his portrayal on the stage of characters created by others, and was charmed to-night with his own modest presentation of himself. Actors are so accustomed to becoming the persons they represent that they dislike to speak for themselves, especially after the hard work of the play, as is the case with our guest, but I never heard an actor make a poor speech if he was a good actor.

I remember one night attending a supper given to Henry Irving after his last performance and at the close of his most successful tour of our country. I sat beside him, and he said, "I am supremely and restfully happy to-night. I closed this evening most satisfactorily and the audience was most appreciative and hospitable. I go from here to the steamer and, thank God, I have the promise of our host that there will be no after-dinner speaking. I told him if there was I would not come." As he finished, the host arose and said, "It would be the greatest breach of hospitality to allow this occasion to pass without proposing the health of the greatest living actor. On behalf of the whole American people I express our gratitude and admiration for the magnificent and unequaled presentations which he has given us." Then followed a long personal eulogy of Mr. Irving, with a toast to his health, all standing. As the host started on

this breach of faith, Irving, in that deepest of sepulchral tones which curdled the blood of his audience, said in my ear, "Damn him. I hope the devil will toast him for ages in hell." But when he arose he made a most graceful, fitting and appreciative reply, full of compliment to the American people and grateful acknowledgment to his host. This was superb acting by a great actor. He decorated the man, whom he felt like murdering, and the occasion, the enjoyment of which had been spoiled for him.

In my earlier days when every waking hour was not so mortgaged as it is in these busy times, I often went to theatrical suppers. As they occurred only after the play when the actors had been to their homes and dressed for the occasion, they were necessarily very late. But to hear on such occasions Irving recite, Billy Florence tell a story, or Sothern delineate a character was to have exquisite pleasure and rich recollections.

When General Sherman retired and came to New York to live, I met him often at theatrical suppers. He was especially fond of those which celebrated the one hundredth and two hundredth nights of a play, such as Daly used to give. It was one of the delightful experiences of a lifetime to see the grim old warrior being tantalized by that charming actress, Ada Rehan, when she was apparently debating whether the General or I should take her out to supper. When at last, as always, her hand rested on the General's arm, he showed more delight than when he had completed victoriously his famous march through Georgia. Once, when the speaking, reciting and singing prolonged the entertainment until the first beams of the sun were coming through the wnidows, Fanny Davenport, then in the prime of her radiant beauty, arose and made the best after-dinner speech I ever heard.

Shakespeare, always accurately portraying the spirit of all the ages, never said a truer thing than in the lines, "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players." Very few people present to intimates or strangers their real selves. Unconsciously the politician and society woman look and act a part. The lawyer, the preacher, the educator and the merchant appear as they would like to have the auditor appreciate them. The soul and substance of amiability which wins a husband, and then tears passion to atoms on the slightest provocations when the matrimonial knot is safely tied, is acting first and nature asserting itself afterward.

Most of you here are on the youthful side of forty. You cannot remember the hold which Dickens had upon the American public. His novels as they came out were read and reread until in every community they would point out to you among their neighbors the Wilkins, Micawbers, Pickwicks, Sam Wellers, Uriah Heeps, Dorcases and Sairy Gamps. When the great magician made his first appearance at Steinway Hall, I came down from the country to see and hear him. I knew all his books by heart. He called the performance a reading, but really his wonderful characters as he portrayed them on the stage were in the flesh just as I had pictured them in my imagination. In Dickens as an author the stage lost one of its most wonderful possibilities as a great actor.

All orators are actors, not all speakers. Most speakers are actors of the kind who in the profession are barn-stormers and tramp the railway ties, but every great orator is a great actor, The finest actor of my recollection on or off the stage was Henry Ward Beecher. His wonderful effects were produced as much by the way he said a thing as by what he said. The orator who impressed his audience, and usually a hostile one, more than any to whom I ever listened was Wendell Phillips. In his time, the Union being in danger, it became a religion. A word against it was treason and dangerous to the speaker. Phillips' power was not only in what he said, but by never making a gesture or speaking above a conversational tone, giving the impression of a suppressed volcano. You felt if the cap blew off frightful results would follow. I had with me on one occasion a classmate who was a large slave-owner. Mr. Phillips, after capturing the audience, whose hostility was constantly manifested for a time, so that ultimately they listened with both ears and mouths wide open, told with marvelous dramatic descriptive force the story of the escape of Anthony Burns from slavery, his education of himself, marrying, building a home, and his happiness in his wife, his children and the comforts of an assured success and income. The fugitive slave law was passed. Under it Burns was seized, the rescuing mob kept off by a company of United States Cavalry, and he was put on a man-of-war and sent back to slavery. There was not a dry eye in the room. At the climax of his description, when literally the dropping of a pin could be heard in the great hall, the orator slowly and majestically raised his hand toward

Heaven and then said, "This outrage was made possible by the union of these States. God damn the Union." It did not seem blasphemy. It came as an appeal to the Almighty, and for a few minutes it looked as if the Heavens would open and the avenging angel would appear among us. My slave-owner friend joined in the wild applause, and for weeks afterward was wondering how it came that he was carried away and cursing himself for his weakness. On no stage was there ever a finer piece of acting. The description and the imprecation without the acting would have led to the orator being thrown out of the window.

Another instance of phenomenal acting: I was traveling with Mr. Blaine in his trip through this State when he was running for President in 1884, and introducing him at the different stations. He asked me about the towns we were approaching, and then I would tell him enough for him to give the local color which always makes a speech more effective. He said, "Well, Chauncey, what is the next place?" I said, "Peekskill." "What about Peekskill?" "I was born there." "Why," said Mr. Blaine, "I have always thought you were born in Poughkeepsie, and have said so repeatedly. There must be some mistake." I said, "No, Mr. Blaine, I was born in Peekskill, as were all of my ancestors, to the first settlement." Just then the train stopped and before us were thousands who had come from thirty miles around to greet their candidate. As I started to give the usual introduction, Mr. Blaine very dramatically pushed me back and shouted, "No, no, fellow-citizens, let me make the introduction here. For twenty-five years, as I have passed up and down this magnificent river upon its majestic floating palaces, I have been filled with admiration at the scenery upon its banks, the historical associations connected with it and the scenes made beautiful by the magic and genius of Irving. But, when the steamboat arrived opposite Peekskill, I have felt an emotion such as no other place in the world has aroused within me, for I said to myself, 'There, there, is the birthplace of my best and most valued friend, Chauncey Depew.'" That was superb acting, on the comic side to me, but to the audience it was most effective as an outburst of emotion from a man who was supposed to be peculiarly self-centered and self-controlled.

Edwin Booth, a rare genius, produced night after night, similar effects to those which characterized this great effort of Wen-

dell Phillips in an unequaled portrayal of the Cardinal-statesman, Richelieu. The climax of unsurpassed acting was when he paralyzed the conspirators who were rushing upon him with their swords by drawing around him an imaginary circle and calling down upon all who should cross the line the curse of Rome. Those few minutes gave a better idea of the spirit of that age than one could get by reading volumes of history.

The myriad-minded Shakespeare, in fitting human nature, which never changes, to environment and adventures in every condition in life, gives to the world a volume which was with the Bible for Abraham Lincoln, during the formative years of his life, all the library he had or wished. But it requires the expressive genius of such actors as Kean and Kemble, Maccready, Booth and Irving, Mrs. Siddons, Charlotte Cushman and Ellen Terry, for the world to see, know and appreciate the debt we owe to the Bard of Avon. It was a rare privilege to see Adelaide Neilson as *Juliet.* With her the grand passion, which is the master of all our lives, was purer, more spiritual and yet more human than any description in the books.

When one has passed three score he does not care for tragedy. If he has lived a full life, there have been too many real tragedies in his own experience. A man who is in a position of power where he has vast numbers under him who must constantly be changed in order that more efficient ones may take their places, or in public life where he is appealed to by multitudes who are waiting for the few places at his disposal and subject to his patronage, becomes familiar with the most heartrending of tragedies, in blasted hopes and wrecked lives. Such a man goes to the theater for amusement and recreation. He blesses the man or woman who can make him laugh.

I speak to-night for that large community who are most grateful to the actors and the actresses who give them evenings of unalloyed enjoyment, and send them home blessing the happy hours before the footlights. We of the older generation reveled in Robertson's "David Garrick," "Ours" and "Caste," with an occasional classic from Sheridan or Goldsmith, as presented by Wallack and his company. You enjoyed with us the rare collection of beauty and talent which Daly gathered for his perfect society plays. Now the rollicking American drama gives us new and most agreeable sensations. Speaking of our own country-

men, we owe much to Bronson Howard, George Ade, and Clyde Fitch, and express our thanks in person to the orator of this evening, Mr. Augustus Thomas, who has given us so many "witching hours."

We might pay one word of tribute to that actor who was equally delightful whether on the stage or in private life—Joseph Jefferson. Born as I was on the Hudson and keen about its traditions, his *Rip Van Winkle* was for me a treasured annal. Coming on with him from Washington during our war with Spain, Jefferson said, "I found both the Navy and War Departments unable to account for the Spanish fleet at Manila, with ships and guns equal to Admiral Dewey's, being sunk in twenty minutes and the American ships not hit. An actor could have solved that problem at once. The Spaniards had not rehearsed."

We are here to-night to pay tribute to John Drew because no one ever left his theater with a pang or within it had anything but pleasure. I have seen him in all his plays since his appearance in youth, and in every one the virtues and foibles, the strength and weakness of our common human nature, have kept us in most natural and excellent company. A most beautiful bouquet of appreciation, if they could be gathered and bunched, would be the smiles, the applause and the expressions of the hundreds of thousands who in the last twenty years have been amused, charmed and instructed by John Drew.

INLAND WATERWAYS CONGRESS

SPEECH AT THE INLAND WATERWAYS CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 11, 1908.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is a great pleasure for me to meet you here to-day and join in the efforts to promote as far as I can the general objects of this remarkable assemblage. When your invitation came to me yesterday afternoon I felt, as a railroad man meeting waterway men with the supposed antagonism there is between them, like the young lady who was receiving a proposal of marriage in a motor-car going at fifty miles an hour when the tire punctured and the machine was ditched, and who when she came to, remarked: "This is so sudden." But I am happy to say that in my forty-odd years as a railway officer I have always believed in and favored the improvement of the waterways. I made a speech forty years ago at the first convention held in our State to secure the enlargement of the Erie Canal, indorsing that project. Public sentiment moves slowly, and that effort did not materialize until the Constitutional amendment of a few years since under which New York is now making a thousand-ton barge-waterway from the Lakes to tidewater. It was the creation of cities and villages along their banks which made possible and profitable the construction of railway lines not through a wilderness but through populous communities. There was naturally at first an intense antagonism between the people whose money was invested in transportation by water and those whose money was invested in transportation by rail, but the deep students of the subject know that the one supplements the other. The more traffic that comes to Buffalo because of the Erie Canal the larger the distribution which goes to the railways; and the greater the population and industries of the cities and towns along the lines of the waterways, the greater is their constantly increasing demand for necessities which can only be supplied by the speed and accommodations of the railroad. An individual born and bred in New York, and full of not only the traditions but the experiences of that State, cannot fail to look with a fav-

orable eye upon every method which enlarges the facilities of and cheapens transportation.

When the great cataclysms of nature created the depressions into which flowed the waters that make the Great Lakes, and threw up the Alleghanys and their extension through New England but left a level depression open across the Mohawk Valley, New York State became the Empire State and New York City the metropolis of the continent waiting only for settlement and practical genius. All great movements seem wild at first and mature slowly. The dreamers are the benefactors, and then come the agitators who arouse public sentiment, and then the materialization of that sentiment in legislation. The Suez Canal was the dream of the Pharaohs, but it materialized in the nineteenth century. The Pharaohs were impressed with cut-offs by their experiences with the Children of Israel in the Red Sea. The Erie Canal was projected by Gouverneur Morris, who was regarded as the most brilliant and at the same time the most erratic of the Revolutionary statesmen, but it materialized in 1825 under De Witt Clinton. Charles V. saw the necessity of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific across the Isthmus of Panama nearly five hundred years ago, but the canal was begun under Theodore Roosevelt and will be finished under President Taft. Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury of Thomas Jefferson's Cabinet, conceived the idea of the cut across Cape Cod and the connection with Chesapeake Bay. After a hundred years this dream, then scouted, with the larger idea of continuing from the Chesapeake through Florida to the Gulf and then from the Lakes through the Mississippi and Ohio to the Gulf, is receiving its first practical consideration, with a possibility of completion, by you gentlemen in this conference.

The Erie Canal did not enter upon its real mission until its enlargement in 1834. The magnitude of what has happened since surpasses the possibilities of the imagination. That within the span of my long life, for I was born in 1834, commerce created by the Erie Canal should have suggested to capitalists the railway systems from New York to the West and on to the Pacific Coast; that traffic should have expanded until to-day there passes through the harbor of New York products of the value of nearly fifteen billions of dollars, which is equal to two-thirds of the whole internal commerce of the United States and of the foreign

commerce upon all the oceans of the world, is a marvel in advancement.

When I entered the railway service the mileage of the United States was thirty-seven thousand, and now it is two hundred and twenty thousand. The rate per ton per mile was nearly two cents, and now it is seventy-five one-hundredths of a cent. It has been computed by an English economist that one day's labor of a man in Liverpool will pay the freight upon the cereals and the meats which he may consume in a year from the Western plains to the Liverpool dock. The lowest rate per ton per mile on the Continent of Europe is one and thirty-three one-hundredths cents, and the average is one cent and a half, while in Great Britain it is two cents. Either of those rates would dry up our Western farms and paralyze our American industries. I believe in railway regulation by the Federal Government. I believe in large powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission. I believe that the people of this country want justice done to the great transportation interests, and while every effort should be made against the creation and promotion of monopolies, the whole matter should be in the hands of a tribunal possessing evidence of the litigants before it, whether individuals or corporations, like that which is now reposed in the Supreme Court of the United States.

At a time when the country never was so prosperous, when employment was never so much in demand, when the smokestacks were never sending out such volumes and when the railways were so congested with traffic that the inadequacy of their facilities to meet the productive energies of the country was leading the people to call for National and State legislation, and when the farms were producing at marvelous and unequaled rates the new wealth of seven thousand millions of dollars, we had a panic. Suddenly, of the two millions of cars four hundred thousand were sidetracked; of the million, seven hundred thousand employees, three hundred thousand were laid off. From the pay-rolls there was cut a million dollars a day. Now, why? Simply lack of confidence that came from two causes. One our barbaric and unscientific currency system, so unequal to the strain put upon it; and the other, reckless and unthinking legislation against the great transportation interests of the country, which had frightened capital. In one State a two-cent rate bill was passed and also a minimum freight bill without discussion,

and then the House took a recess while the members danced a hornpipe and sang the hallelujah chorus in front of the Speaker's desk. You, gentlemen, are familiar with the fact that the most delicate machinery of commerce in which every interest of the country is intertwined is transportation. Let it be rigidly, judicially and fairly administered by bodies who are competent to hear testimony and wisely decide.

The enormous annual creation of wealth in the world led some years ago to money becoming such a drug that London banks refused any longer to receive it on deposit. It was then that wealth would grow much faster than investment opportunities, but the opening of South America and of Africa, the new industries and the enlargement of old ones created by invention and discovery, soon absorbed accumulated capital and made demands upon credit for the future. There is no such attractive investment as the railroads, unless their status is so established that they can have judicial and judicious treatment instead of political exploitation and hysteria. We need for a productive power which grows three times as fast annually as our transportation facilities, aid from the Government for waterways and enormous calls upon capital for railways. These two systems supplementing each other will give us that peaceful, prosperous and hopeful America which is the desire of us all.

An eloquent Senator said here yesterday that if this convention asks the money which it requires and Congress does not grant it, they will go home and send Congressmen who will. My friends, this is not the way in which you, and I may say we joining with you, are to get what we desire. Congress grows more and more careful and judicial every day, and less and less responsive to brainstorms. We have spent upon rivers and harbors five thousand millions of dollars, and one-half of it has been wasted because under the old system of log-rolling if the commercial interests of the country require a widening and deepening of the channel from the docks in New York to the sea to accommodate the larger vessels crossing the ocean, it could not be had unless the New York members would vote for spending a million or so of dollars to dredge Goose Creek. Now, I believe that the money appropriated in the river and harbor bill is wisely expended. It is because the proposition has passed, first, the rigid examination of the engineers of the War Depart-

ment assigned to that duty and then the scrutiny of the committees of the two Houses acting upon testimony. Then when this voluntary committee who did such magnificent work presented their conclusions at the last session, both Houses received them with credulity. But sentiment has moved rapidly since then, and yet you cannot hope for practical results unless that commission, in some form, is made permanent, unless it makes a complete engineering and scientific investigation of the question in the broadest way, and then present from time to time the most immediate need and most feasible present scheme. When this is done, the people, instructed and aroused, will rally behind their own commission and enforce the passage of its recommendations. If your Congress accomplishes nothing else but the creation of such a commission, I can see that the dreams of the dreamer of the past will become the beneficent realities of the future.

LINCOLN REMINISCENCES

LINCOLN REMINISCENCES WRITTEN FOR "LESLIE'S WEEKLY" OF FEBRUARY 4, 1909.

A REPLY to your request for reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln is difficult, because of the wealth there is of material in recollections which are to convey a clear idea of the man as he appeared to those who knew him. As with Washington, so with Lincoln, tradition has gradually created from the most human of all our Presidents an impossible ideal.

I spent three months in the campaign of 1860 in continuous speaking for the candidacy of Mr. Lincoln. As my efforts were in New York and adjoining States, I did not meet him. He remained until after election quietly at his home in Springfield, Ill. I first saw and spoke to him while he was on his way to Washington for his inauguration. He came down on the Hudson River Railroad, and we at Peekskill succeeded in having him consent to stop there and make a brief speech. Thousands gathered at the station, many having driven over from Connecticut, twenty-five miles away. The chairman of the reception committee was Judge Nelson, then past eighty years of age, who had served in Congress with Mr. Lincoln. The President-elect stepped on to an extemporized platform and was introduced to the committee, and then the Judge began the speech of welcome. The crowd was wild to hear Mr. Lincoln, but the Judge continued speaking until the bell of the locomotive rang and the conductor shouted "All aboard." Mr. Lincoln hastily jumped on the platform of the car, laughing heartily at the speaker, whose arms were gesticulating and whose closing sentence was half finished, while the audience cheered frantically and then roared with rage at the chairman of their reception committee.

When the Internal Revenue System was put in operation, the Republicans of Westchester and Rockland counties united on me for Collector of that district. They gave Mr. Lincoln's friend, Judge Nelson, a formidable petition signed by all the members of the Congressional and County Committees and endorsed by the chairman of the State Committee. Mr. Lincoln received our

party with great cordiality, and said: "I know of young Depew and the good work he did in the campaign, but a man named Hyatt, from your district, was here yesterday and told me of finding my brother at a country hotel sick with the smallpox, and while everyone else fled he remained and nursed my brother through [it was Mr. Lincoln's stepbrother], and I promised him the place." "Why!" said Mr. Nelson, "he is the most bitter copperhead in the county, and has denounced you everywhere in the most virulent way." "A man who would do what he did," replied the President, "is all right at the bottom and will make good, and the appointment stands." Mr. Hyatt remained in office until the close of Johnson's administration.

In 1864 the Legislature of New York passed a bill to permit the soldiers from the State to vote in the pending presidential election. There were about four hundred thousand in the field, and they were in corps, divisions, regiments, and isolated commands all over the South. The Legislature was largely Republican, the Governor, Horatio Seymour, a Democrat, and I, as Secretary of State, a Republican. While in other States the collection of the soldiers' vote was given to the Governor, with us that duty was assigned to the Secretary of State. Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, put so many obstacles in the way that I was three months in Washington before he would grant the necessary information as to the location of New York soldiers, so that I could forward the blanks and arrange for the elections in camps, and the return of the ballots and certification records. Mr. Lincoln was deeply interested in my mission, and so I saw him often under favorable conditions.

Mr. Lincoln was a thin, spare man, large boned, and apparently rather loose limbed, and six feet four inches in height. He had a very homely face with a sad expression, as if weighted heavily with care and anxiety. But when earnestly discussing some question, and especially when telling a story, his countenance fairly beamed with the fire of his talk or the enjoyment of his anecdote. He always wore a black broadcloth suit, the coat a long-skirted frock, and a high vest, and out of doors the invariable silk top hat. His towering figure in this dress made him the marked man in every assemblage, and especially so when he rode on horseback every afternoon to his cottage at the Soldiers' Home, accompanied by a staff of brilliantly uniformed officers

In speaking he had a peculiar cadence in his voice. This was caused by special emphasis on some word near the middle of the sentence, and a stronger one on the last word. He spoke very deliberately, and the sentences were so carefully constructed that the two words thus made prominent gave particular point to the remark. For instance, he said to me after narrating several stories, "They say I tell a great many stories. I reckon I *do,* but I have learned from long experience that PLAIN people, take them as they run, are more easily *influenced* through the medium of a *broad* and humorous illustration than in any other way, and what the hypercritical FEW may think I don't CARE."

Mr. Lincoln possessed one of the most logical of minds, but his logic was for formal efforts like speeches, or messages, or important letters. Yet he rarely, if ever, in conversation met questions in this way. It was invariably by an anecdote in the nature of a parable. We must remember that almost the only book he had in the formative period of youth was the Bible, which he read over and over again. That accounts in a measure for his style and methods of argument.

General Sherman told me of an experience of his own with Mr. Lincoln, and his suggestive method of solving difficult problems. The General said that the President was anxious for Jefferson Davis and the other leading members of the Confederate Government to escape. He felt if they were in custody, it would embarrass the object he most desired, the pacification of the South and the restoration of the Union, with the late rebels participating as loyal citizens in all the privileges of American citizenship as before the war, under the old flag, except slavery. After the Confederacy broke up, and the President and Cabinet were fugitives, the General, asking for orders, informed Mr. Lincoln that he could locate them every night, as they were fleeing along the coast seeking transportation to Cuba or Europe. Mr. Lincoln knew that in the inflamed condition of the popular mind the people would not submit to an order for their release but were crying for their arrest, trial and punishment. So instead of giving any directions, he looked the General steadily in the face for a few minutes, and then remarked, "I knew a brilliant lawyer who took a drink and sank into the gutter. The temperance folks reclaimed him and then he became their most successful lecturer. Returning to Springfield, the Bar gave a dinner of

welcome. When the toast in his honor was proposed, the host insisted the guest should take spirits, as water would not express the warmth of their regard, and he finally yielded by saying, 'Gentlemen, if you put some whiskey in my glass unbeknownst to me, I will be happy to respond.'" Jefferson Davis was captured, against the wishes of the President and the orders of General Sherman, by a zealous officer who could not resist the temptation.

John Ganson, the leader of the Bar in Western New York, was elected to Congress as a Democrat, but he was one of the few of his party who cordially supported the President in his war measures. At a time when the country was discouraged by Union defeats, and the issue for the Union looked very dark, Mr. Ganson became worried. He was not only entirely bald, but his face was always as smooth as a billiard ball. He thought Congress should be kept informed of conditions at the front, and with the Army and the methods taken to retrieve disasters. The President believed such confidence would leak out and help the enemy. Mr. Ganson went to the White House, and had an immediate audience, and in peremptory way said, "Mr. President, I, a Democrat, have risked my political future in supporting your administration; the situation seems perilous in the extreme, and I think I have a right to know the facts." Mr. Lincoln looked at him steadily for a minute, and then as if communicating a secret of State, answered, "Ganson, how *clean* you shave!"

Thompson, Clay and Sanders, distinguished Confederates, appeared at the Clifton House on the Canada side at Niagara Falls, and announced that they were commissioners of the Confederate Government and empowered to treat for peace. Mr. Lincoln thought it simply a shrewd diplomatic move to have him suspend military operations so as to give the Confederates breathing time for recuperation, and nothing else. Thompson and Clay were old Whig politicians, and Horace Greeley believed in them. The story was told to me by Mr. Lincoln in full, and then illustrated by a story which met the case on all fours. Without giving the anecdote, the rest is of historical interest. He said that after Greeley had written him several letters urging him to treat with the Clifton House trio, there came one day a missive in which the editor said, "You can now have honorable peace, and at once, and every day you delay meeting those commissioners

the blood spilled and the money wasted in this war is upon your sole responsibility." Mr. Lincoln answered, "If you believe these commissioners have any credentials—they were in the old days personal friends of yours—visit them quietly and let me know." Instead, Mr. Greeley, as Ambassador for the United States, made his headquarters at the Cataract House on the American side, and opened formal negotiations across the river. The country became demoralized, the Army weakened, and the situation intolerable, when the President recalled Mr. Greeley and issued a proclamation to the effect that if any persons at Niagara Falls, or anywhere else, had any power to treat on behalf of the Confederate Government, they would have safe conduct to Washington and return. Then the scheme collapsed and the commissioners vanished. Mr. Greeley in his newspaper maintained the authority of the commission, and blamed Mr. Lincoln for the failure of the negotiations. The President was worried, and Postmaster-general Randall said to him, "Write a letter to the public setting forth these facts, and the country will be with you," and other members of the Cabinet gave similar advice. Mr. Lincoln's answer was, "All the newspapers in the country would publish my letter, and so would Greeley. After a while people would forget the matter and Greeley would take a line or a sentence from my letter and comment on it, and so on, day after day, until everybody would believe I had admitted that I was absolutely wrong and Greeley entirely right. No, my friends, never have a controversy with an editor unless you own a paper of equal circulation. Your reply may be pure truth and stop his biting you, but you can neither keep off nor scrape off the mud he will throw on you."

Mr. Lincoln was always illustrating by anecdotes which clinched, and yet rarely repeated one. I asked him how he obtained so many good and apt stories. He answered that for many years he traveled the circuit when Illinois was sparsely settled. The judge, counsel, client, witnesses and jurymen would be at the same hotel. They were all story-tellers. The experiences of a virile frontier people in new and original environment and experiences furnished more and better anecdotes than were ever invented, and he added, "I never forget a story, and I think I can tell one tolerably well." Indeed, in all my large experience he was the best raconteur I ever met.

I attended a reception at the White House with Rufus F. Andrews, at the time Surveyor of the Port of New York. As the procession moved along by the President with the usual greetings, Mr. Lincoln detained Andrews several minutes in a whispered conversation, which halted the march. Curiosity was at its height, not only among the guests but in newspaper row and all over Washington, as to that interview. Andrews and I had an apartment together, and he told me that being at the White House the night before in a long conference over New York affairs, he told the President a new story. The procession was halted because Mr. Lincoln said in Andrews's ear, "That capital story of yours has slipped my mind, give the point of it to me now."

Mr. Lincoln's keen sense of humor was his salvation. It carried him through trials and troubles which would have crushed ordinary men. He found relief in the dialect sarcasms of Petroleum V. Nasby, whose Confederate Crossroads statesmen pilloried the frauds of the time. He read a chapter from Artemus Ward to an astonished Cabinet, some of whom, like Chase, were always portentously serious, and then placed before them the momentous question of their lives by submitting the draft of his Emancipation Proclamation. He disposed of a committee of New York capitalists who called to say that they had subscribed liberally to the Government bonds, and, fearing the Confederate ironclad might enter New York Harbor and bombard the city, demanded protection. The spokesman remarked that the wealth of the gentlemen on the committee amounted to several hundred millions of dollars. The President examined them critically for a few minutes, and then said, "Gentlemen, the Government has neither the money nor the ships for what you ask, but if I had as much wealth as you say you possess and was as *skeered* as you are I would find means to protect my property."

Mr. Lincoln was the best informed and ablest politician in the country. He knew the political conditions in all the States and kept in close touch with their organizations. He was keenly alive and active in State and Congressional elections. Civil Service was not then dreamed of, and patronage controlled parties. The appointments in the New York Customs House were the most important factor in New York. Mr. Lincoln had offended Thurlow Weed, the State leader, by ignoring his recommendations and appointing Simeon Draper Collector of the Port,

and Rufus F. Andrews Surveyor, who were the President's personal friends. But prior to the election of 1864 he placated Mr. Weed by removing Andrews and giving the place to Mr. Weed's nominee, Abram Wakeman. The Surveyor at the time had more appointments than all the other Federal officers in the State.

After three months of vain effort to get the locations of the New York troops that they might vote, Mr. Stanton peremptorily and insultingly refused the information on the ground that it would come to the notice of the enemy and work irreparable damage to our Army. As I was going down the hallway of the War Department I met Elihu B. Washburne, Congressman from Illinois, Mr. Lincoln's personal friend. He said, "Hello, Depew, you seem pretty mad." I told him I was, and that I was taking the next train home to inform the State that the administration would not permit the New York soldiers to vote, and that this was necessary to relieve me of responsibility. "Why!" he answered, "that will defeat Lincoln if he runs this fall, as he will. You don't know the President; great as he is as an Executive he is equally able as a party manager, as we well know in Illinois, and if necessary he would go around with a carpetbag and collect those votes himself. Wait here while I go over to the White House." In about an hour an officer came up to me and inquired if I was Secretary of State Depew, of New York, and if so the Secretary of War wished to see me at once. This most brusque and belligerent of all officials received me most graciously, and asked me to state what I wanted. I had done it often before to be rudely turned down, but this time he directed a general to see immediately that the information was furnished. I left at midnight with complete records. About three hundred thousand votes were cast in the camps, and of these two hundred thousand were for Mr. Lincoln. He carried the State by only seven thousand majority.

In Lincoln's time the upper part of the White House, which was subsequently partitioned into many offices, was a large reception room. Except a doorkeeper, an Irishman named Jerry, there were no guards. For several hours in the day this room would be crowded with Senators and Congressmen with their office-seeking constituents and petitioners, mainly women, for the pardon of their husbands, sons, brothers or sweethearts, who had been condemned by court martial, or for permits to go to the

front where these relatives were wounded or sick in field hospitals. All these requests were invariably denied at the War Department. I have witnessed at these receptions the most pathetic scenes between these unhappy people, and the most sympathetic of mortals. None were denied, and if the case was urgent, so was Mr. Lincoln's order prompt and peremptory. I have known him to go personally with a poor woman to the War Department to save her son who was within a few hours of being executed. Standing in this crowd one day, the President recognized me and said, "Well, Mr. Secretary, what do you want?" I answered, "Nothing, Mr. President." "Well," he said, "it is such a *luxury* to have *somebody* here who does not *want* anything that if you will wait until I dispose of these cases I would like to talk with you." The throng gone, he ordered Jerry to let no one else in, and throwing himself on the lounge he pulled up his long legs by clasping his hands below the knees, and rocking backward and forward, told his difficulties, and how he had got rid of them by an apt anecdote. In that conversation he told eleven stories, each with a point which was a clincher in the case where it was used. But this talk was to relieve the burdened mind of the tiredest and saddest of men.

I have tried in these reminiscences to portray the human side of the greatest man of his century. He knew the people as no other public man ever had, and had their confidence beyond all Presidents except Washington. He filled the Armies when the country was discouraged, and inspired hope when the people were despairing. He resisted the terrific pressure and rabid attacks of the radicals to force him to free the slaves, because he knew that the majority of the North were fighting to preserve the Union and would not shed a drop of blood or spend a dollar for emancipation. He recognized the hour when public opinion had arrived at the conclusion that slavery must be destroyed to save the Union. Then he issued the immortal Proclamation of Emancipation. Without any advantage in his youth of teachers or schools or colleges, and educating himself by reading and rereading the Bible, Shakespeare and "Pilgrim's Progress," he contributed to our political literature its choicest gems of thought and expression in the Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural address.

NATIONAL RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE

SPEECH AT THE DINNER OF THE NATIONAL RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE, HOTEL MANHATTAN, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 21, 1909.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I have been pleased with the philosophy of life and the good advice which Superintendent Bradley, your presiding officer, has just given you. He has informed you that there is no question under heaven that I have not experienced and nothing under the stars which I do not know, and enumerated these gifts. He omitted the most important for the present day. I could, if I would, tell who discovered the North Pole. It is an admirable spirit which the Superintendent advises for the young men in the service of being satisfied with their salaries. The salaries of the men in the railway mail service are entirely too low, and I have done, and will continue to do, my best for their increase. Until their advance permit me, as a veteran in my seventy-sixth year, to give a bit of personal experience. Happiness comes not so much from what you have as what you can do without. The controlling factor in every man's life is habit, which is not a natural faculty, but acquired. The habit of adjusting one's family and personal affairs to income can be successfully practiced within narrow limits without resorting to our old friend Wilkins Micawber's scheme of borrowing money for luxuries and giving I O U's in payment. I used to think that the greatest luxury in life, so far as the table was concerned, was an inch-thick porterhouse steak cooked rare. We have had it on the menu to-night in the best style of this excellent hotel, and it did not tempt me. I gave up beef ten years ago and was cured of rheumatism. The deprivation hurt me hard for a time, but now I have lost the appetite. I used to smoke like a chimney. There was hardly an hour of the day or evening without the circling smoke of a cigar creating an aureole around my head. I felt sure it was both a necessity and luxury. In giving it up about fifteen years ago I suffered the agonies of the damned for three months and was uncomfortable for fifteen

months, but I was cured of my indigestion, of insomnia and a tendency to weak eyes. Now I can sit with smokers without thought or care for the weed. For a man of limited income, the saving in this is sufficient to make his wife and children happier. When I entered public life it was thought strange for a politician not to drink. Young orators believed that the inspiration of alcohol had produced the best efforts of Webster and others. When in the Legislature forty-seven years ago it was impossible to call on a member without his placing before you, and it was inhospitable if you did not place before him, brandy and whiskey. I saw men going to early graves and becoming physical and mental wrecks all around. When you entered a hotel the bar-room was next to the main passage, and Tom, Dick and Harry, hail fellows, well met, would pull you in for a drink which you did not want or need, and then the etiquette of the occasion required that you should treat in turn Tom, Dick and Harry. I made this compromise with the situation: That I would not drink at a bar nor between meals nor at any time except at dinner, and then only champagne. In those early days I could not afford champagne myself and the opportunities of having it offered were exceedingly rare. When I was reproached by political rivals for having no red blood or good-fellowship because I declined their proffers of whiskey and brandy, I would answer: "A spoonful of either is fatal to my digestion, but if you will order champagne I will drink a bottle." The three dollars and a half for that bottle was more than the hospitality of my host was equal to, and it rather enhanced my reputation as a convivial gentleman with eccentricities in the choice of fluid. Happily, a wonderful change for the better in public opinion and private practice has resulted from the success of temperance. To-day the young man gains credit and has the best sentiment of the neighborhood with him who refuses to drink at all. These experiences taught me the lesson, which is based on the old axiom, that what is one man's meat is another man's poison. Whatever I found disagreed with me I cut off. Whatever in my early professional career I found I could not afford, it was not difficult to create conditions where there would be neither craving nor liking for it. All young men are envious of those who have made large fortunes. This is not possible for men in the Government service, and especially in the Post-Office Department, though I have

known men in earlier days who were able to save on a twelve-hundred-dollar-a-year salary enough in a few years to buy a comfortable home and have an income of five or six thousand dollars for the rest of their lives. Those conditions no longer prevail in the Federal service. I am told that they are still possible in city governments. I became early in my professional career counsel for a very rich man and the corporations which he controlled, and it brought to my office many of those who started from nothing, with neither education, influence nor help of any kind and became very wealthy. The effect upon most of them was to spend this money to get the things which they had dreamed were the luxuries of the rich. Their first attack was upon their stomachs, and it did not take long before digestive organs which had grown phenomenally strong with plain food while they were brakemen, conductors, artisans or farmers' boys went all to pieces and placed their owners permanently on the invalid list after about two years of indulgence in the best, rarest and most high-priced solid and fluid refreshments which money could buy. Their indulgence in other pleasures which came to them with leisure and which they had always craved, and which only money could secure, destroyed their nervous systems and deprived them of that greatest luxury in the world, which belongs only to those who work, dreamless sleep. They had big families, their heirs usually quarreled over their estates, the obituary notices were laudatory, but the monuments did not have upon them the inscription: "He died as the fool dieth." Pardon this digression, for which I was inspired by the admirable suggestions of your Superintendent and presiding officer.

I am happy to meet to-night with this goodly assemblage connected with the railway mail service. I think I have been longer in association with your branch of the public service than anyone now living. I recall distinctly the visit made by the most efficient of public officers, Colonel Bangs, to the office of the late William H. Vanderbilt, in 1874. Colonel Bangs wanted to know if Mr. Vanderbilt would build, equip and place upon the line of the New York Central and Lake Shore between New York and Chicago two mail trains of ten cars each, to be run exclusively in the mail service, and to cover the distance in twenty-four hours. Mr. Vanderbilt consulted his father, the Commodore, and the Commodore, finding sad experiences in contracts with

the Post-Office Department in the steamship service, advised his son that he did not believe after the company had gone to the expense that the Government would live up to their contract. The son, more hopeful, made the contract, had the twenty cars constructed and in less than a year the finest mail train ever known in the world was carrying the mails between New York and Chicago on the twenty-four-hour time-table, and shortening the time by about twelve hours for the delivery of the New York and foreign mail to the West, and the Western mail to New York, the Eastern States and Europe. The fame of this train aroused the spirit of another great railway man, Thomas J. Scott, of the Pennsylvania, and he placed, in 1875, a rival train upon the Pennsylvania road. The press of the country was full of laudations of this enterprise on behalf of both the Government and the railways, and the business community enthusiastic. Notwithstanding the contract with the New York Central, upon which the cars were built, part of the mail was taken away from it the second year in violation of the contract. In the third year after the route was opened, Congress took the matter up. The most uncertain body in the world is the Congress of the United States. Its moods and its movements are like the currents reported which move the ice in contrary directions around the North Pole. The action of Congress is sometimes as Peary would have it, sometimes as Cook would claim it, and sometimes as an Esquimo who cannot count beyond three might act. Congress on this occasion, in view of a coming election, was imbued with a resistless economical spirit, and cut off the appropriation for the fast mail train. The majority of that body in those halcyon days of the spoils system were bored to death and overburdened with daily mail carrying applications for office, and could see no reason for the delivery of letters being expedited. But a movement so beneficent and of such far-reaching consequences might be checked, but could not be stopped, and within four years the Post-Office Department was establishing railway mail Post-Office routes as rapidly as the railways of the country could perform the service.

One of the stories current among old-time Post-Office officials, and which ex-Postmaster-general James delights to tell, is this: The clerks on the car were unable to sort the mail destined for Poughkeepsie, Hudson and Albany, so Colonel Bangs ordered

that the mail for those places should be sorted in the New York office and put in bags painted red. The bill for the paint was disallowed by the Auditor of the Post-Office Department.

I remember General Poe relating at a meeting of the Loyal Legion in Detroit a similar experience of his own. As Commander of the Department of the Lakes he had loaded a barge with supplies for the fort at Mackinaw and other posts to last during the winter when navigation was closed and those places were inaccessible. The barge caught fire and the General hired the fire tugs of Detroit harbor to put it out, which they successfully accomplished, and saved the barge and the cargo. The bill for the fire tugs was returned to the General by the Auditor of the Treasury Department with this memo: "Disallowed, because bids were not called for and the contract properly awarded to the lowest bidder."

The story of the railway mail service is like a fairy tale. It was unknown prior to 1862, even to the extent of a single car. In 1880 the Government expended twenty-two millions a year in the railway mail service, and in 1908, eighty-one millions. As the mail is paid by weight, this shows a tremendous growth of this branch of the postal service in the last thirty years. Twenty years ago there were only five thousand clerks and superintendents in the railway mail service, and to-day there are nearly nineteen thousand. The growth of the Post-Office in the United States is the romance of the public service. It comes in closer contact with the people than any other branch of the Government. Its chiefs have always been broad-minded and progressive men. Its experiments, many of them radical, have been successful and of inestimable service to the country. When we remember that the revenues of the Post-Office have grown from thirty-three millions in 1880 to one hundred and ninety-two millions in the current year, we can appreciate what a tremendous business enterprise the Post-Office Department is; and when we recall that in direct contact with that movement of money in Post-Office orders for those who are familiar with banks and exchanges, the Government transmitted for the people last year five hundred and six millions of dollars, we can appreciate both the business value and the human element in the Post-Office Department. If plain people in their simple transactions remitting a part of their savings to relatives and friends throughout the country and in

foreign lands from which they had migrated could trust the Government with this large sum of over five hundred millions of dollars, we can easily appreciate that the sum would be fabulous which they would trust to the Government if we could establish a system of Post-Office savings banks. I know of no improvement in the Post-Office service, or in any service of the Government, which would add so much to thrift, to independence, to the ownership of homes and to a nest-egg in time of non-employment as the Post-Office savings bank. Right here, gentlemen, I cannot forego paying a tribute which belongs to you. All these money orders pass through your hands. You examine, distribute and pass on to their destinations twenty billions of separate letters and parcels a year. They contain millions of dollars in one form or another. Your skilled fingers know which are valuable and which are not. But among the nearly twenty thousand employees in the railway mail service there are no defalcations, no thefts, no failures of deliveries. On the contrary, many a railway mail clerk has lost his life defending the property entrusted to his care in the lonely car of which he was the only occupant.

Figures are often the most borish and stupid of presentation, but when we recall that there are over sixteen hundred lines of traveling Post-Offices, by rail, by water and by electric car; that these lines cover over two hundred and three thousand miles in length, and that you, gentlemen, in the last year covered in your service over three hundred thousand miles, and that all this has been accomplished in forty years, we have the romance and reality of American genius and development.

I was reading yesterday in a report of Egyptian explorations that there have been found in the tombs at ancient Thebes manuscripts covering the accounts of the Postmaster-general of the time of Pharaoh. It is evident from this that there was then a very well developed mail service along the Nile. The pouches delivered to and received from the boats and for whom, how many, and the contents of each are accurately recorded. The service seems to have been mainly for public officials. It is apparent that Pharaoh had delivered to him his mail morning and evening. I am afraid that the governmental dispatches or reports of revenue and expenditure, and the letters from the relatives of his large number of wives, which were delivered to him on the morning of the day when he essayed his famous submarine ex-

periment under the Red Sea, failed to have their destination properly vouched for in the records of the Egyptian Post-Office Department at the capital.

I have been reading lately the volumes of letters of Cicero and of Pliny which were gathered and published after their death and have been preserved for us. They show that the Roman Post-Office at the time of Augustus was a very accurate and efficient institution. But neither Egypt nor the Roman Empire knew of the railway mail service.

My own personal relations with the Post-Office Department have been painful. About twenty newspaper reporters tumbled into my office one day in the Grand Central Depot and wanted my help to sustain a magazine which they had been running for nearly a year and could no longer keep going. I had always been susceptible to the appeals from my newspaper friends, and they have kept me in the public eye conspicuously, especially during the last few years. My experience was that advances once begun must be kept up, and the reports were that the publication was always in sight of—but had not quite reached—that turning point which leads to fortunes for magazines when the income is in excess of the expenditures. This was at the time when the graft in the Post-Office Department was in full sway, and which was afterward extirpated, root and branch, by Theodore Roosevelt, and which I do not believe had ever existed before. While I was in Europe this interior syndicate notified the publisher of this magazine that it was suspended pending an investigation, the publisher having been informed beforehand how the investigation and the suspension could be avoided. When I returned the order of suspension was removed with abundant apologies, but the magazine was dead. The burial and the inscription cost me one hundred and six thousand dollars. Except for this interruption, the profits of that publication might to-day have rivaled the fabulous sums which we read are pouring into the treasury of the most successful of these publications.

The Post-Office Department, with its reduction in postage, with its rural free delivery, with its railway mail service, with its expedited delivery in city and country, with its wonderful help to periodical literature, illustrates that the old gentleman who says that there is nothing new under the sun must have lived in a peculiarly arid period. In these days, when the political

columns in the papers are crying that because of the late tariff bill there are increases in price of articles of necessity, our old rock-ribbed friend, the *Tribune,* appeared this morning for one cent.

Well, gentlemen, yours is a work which requires sobriety, intelligence of a rare order, health and physical endurance. It takes time to learn the duties which are incumbent upon you, and one of the best results of Civil Service is that it covers a department of the Government which requires so much skill and fidelity as yours. In no branch does the Government of the United States receive so much for so little as in railway mail service. The most harrowing experiences of my life during the years of my active management of railways were in connection with the accidents inevitable to the dangerous service in which you are. I count it as one of the most gratifying events in my service in the Senate that after so many failures in the past I succeeded last year in having an employers' liability law passed for the employees of the Government of the United States.

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY

SPEECH ON THE RESOURCES AND PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY UNDER REPUBLICAN POLICIES, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 20, 1909.

MR. PRESIDENT: The message of the President of the United States, communicated to the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the second session of the Sixty-first Congress, on the 7th of the present month, concluded as follows:

Speaking generally, the country is in a high state of prosperity. There is every reason to believe that we are on the eve of a substantial business expansion, and we have just garnered a harvest unexampled in the market value of our agricultural products. The high prices which such products bring mean great prosperity for the farming community, but on the other hand they mean a very considerably increased burden upon those classes in the community whose yearly compensation does not expand with the improvement in business and the general prosperity. Various reasons are given for the high prices. The proportionate increase in the output of gold, which to-day is the chief medium of exchange and is in some respects a measure of value, furnishes a substantial explanation of at least part of the increase in prices. The increase in population and the more expensive mode of living of the people, which have not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in acreage production, may furnish a further reason. It is well to note that the increase in the cost of living is not confined to this country, but prevails the world over, and that those who would charge increases in prices to the existing protective tariff must meet the fact that the rise in prices has taken place almost wholly in those products of the factory and farm in respect to which there has been either no increase in the tariff or in many instances a very considerable reduction.

Notwithstanding this clarion note of satisfaction and hope from President Taft, who speaks with authority from a recent visit to nearly all parts of the country, and from the reports of officers of the Government in close touch with every department of American industry, production, and finance, the country is burdened by an unprecedented amount of pessimistic prophecy in relation to our future. We are told that the tariff which

passed at the close of the extra session in August last has raised the price of the necessaries of life, and is essentially a measure for revision upward instead of downward. The daily and weekly press and the magazines are filled with articles predicting a failure in the near future of our food and fuel supplies. This feeling of pending peril is also voiced in the coordinate branch of this Congress. Such views are most untimely on the eve of Christmas. They make melancholy those choicest days of the year, the holiday season. I desire therefore to spread upon the record, if I may, a few beams of sunshine, and to prove, which I think can easily be done, that the American people have before them as merry a Christmas as has ever fallen to their lot.

I am in receipt of the Christmas number of the magazine of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. He has an advantage over his colleagues in having two organs, *The Congressional Record* and the *La Follette Magazine*. The rest of us can appeal to the people only through the *Record,* to which all have access, while he has equal opportunities in the official publication and owns and holds the key to his journal. His holiday greetings are severe criticism for the President and myself. I thank him heartily for the great honor of this association. In wafting to the Senator and editor the good wishes of the season, I trust that when, after his Christmas dinner, his hands are clasped soothingly over the resting place of his Christmas turkey, his sleep will be blessed with happy dreams for 1912, and his digestion unimpaired because his heart, like mine, will be free from envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness.

Now as to the tariff. The problem which Congress had primarily to face in framing the tariff bill was to find additional revenues sufficient to meet the deficiency in the Treasury. After five months of exhaustive examination by experts in the Government service, by testimony from manufacturers, merchants, and people interested in every department of American industry, the tariff bill was perfected and became a law.

After the House of Representatives and the Senate had acted and the differences between them were in conference, the conferees appealed to the President. Mr. Taft at once took up all the questions involved with that thoroughness, impartiality, and candor which made him one of the best judges in our judicial history. The tariff bill has been viciously assailed, and its pro-

visions have been subject to more glaring misrepresentations than any other enactment in this generation. The same tactics were employed by Democrats, free traders, revenue theorists, and disgruntled Republicans against the McKinley Bill when it was enacted in 1890. The elections came before the practical workings of the measure could demonstrate the falsity of these attacks, and the Democrats elected a President and both Houses of Congress. Their first effort was to revise the tariff, and the result was what is known as the Wilson-Gorman Bill. Following its passage and the effect it had upon American industries and labor, we had one of the most severe panics in our history. Out of this distress came the triumph of McKinley, with a majority in both Houses and the passage of the Dingley Bill, under which we have lived and prospered since 1897.

During that period there was an increase in the value of American manufactures of over twelve hundred millions of dollars, and an increase in the number of workers in every department of American industry from 26,350,000 to 34,000,000. The extraordinary feature of this is that under our economic system we have been able to find remunerative employment for this addition of 7,650,000 who required employment at paying wages. There has been an increase during the same period of 50,000 manufacturing establishments, working in 368 different industries, offering employment in new industries developed by protection which did not exist when the Dingley Bill was enacted.

The increases in the new tariff are almost entirely in luxuries. The increase in alcoholic compounds, toilet preparations, and the like will yield an additional revenue of $200,000; high-grade glass, $150,000; automobiles, bullion, metal threads for fancy ornamentations, pearl-handled knives, and things of that description, $100,000; hops, figs, imported dates, and grapes, $500,000; the spirit and wine schedule, including champagnes and imported liquors, $4,000,000. The only increase in cotton was upon very high-grade goods, and this will yield $200,000 additional. There will be $500,000 additional gathered from high-grade manufactures in flax, hemp, and jute, and about $200,000 in the increase on the finest silks. There will be about $150,000 additional from an increased duty on cigar labels and embossed paper and ornamental things of luxury made from paper. There will be $2,000,000 additional growing out of the increased tariff on ostrich

feathers, imported ornaments, hat ornamentations, and articles of personal adornment which only the rich can buy and use. On all these articles, which do not enter at all into common consumption and which are wholly a matter of luxury, there will be an additional revenue of $15,000,000, without any burden whatever upon the average consumer, or what Lincoln called the "plain people."

In the new tariff there have been 500 reductions of rates, covering thousand of articles. The increases have been about 100—almost entirely, as I have said, in articles of luxury. In agricultural implements, like wagons, mowers, binders, harrows, rakes, plows, cultivators, thrashers, and drills, there has been a uniform reduction of 25 per cent. In red and white lead for paint, in varnishes, glazed brick, earthenware and china in common use, and common window glass, there has been a reduction of from 10 to 33 per cent. Bar iron used by blacksmiths has been reduced 50 per cent., and so have steel rails, while on steel beams and girders for buildings, hoop and bar iron, barb wire for fences, bolts and nuts, knives and forks for table use, spikes and nails, horseshoes, muleshoes, tacks, brads, saws, screws, sewing machines, typewriters, all of which are necessary for house-building, business and domestic purposes, the duties have been reduced from 12 to 50 per cent.

Oilcloths and linoleums for floors have been reduced from 9 to 38 per cent., and oilcloths for tables, and so forth, 40 per cent. The duties on bituminous coal have been reduced 33 per cent.; print paper, 37 per cent.; hats and bonnets, 20 per cent.; boots and shoes, 40 per cent.; sole leather and belting, 75 per cent.; leather for shoe uppers, 25 per cent.; gloves for ordinary use, 30 per cent.; harness, saddles, and so forth, 55 per cent. In addition, we have let in Philippine and Porto Rican sugar free and retained the 20 per cent. advantage for Cuban sugar. In lumber necessary for cheap houses there has been a reduction of 50 per cent. on part and from 30 to 37 per cent. on the rest. Fence posts have been made free, and laths have been reduced 20 per cent. It will be seen here that in everything which enters into the life of the farm and the building of a home and to its furniture there has been a very marked reduction from the duties in the Dingley Bill. Petroleum and all its products have been made free.

Summing up the whole matter, the tariff under the new Payne

Law has been decreased from the Dingley rate on imported goods valued in round numbers at $5,000,000,000, while the tariff has been increased on goods, other than liquors and luxuries, valued at only $241,000,000 in round numbers. If manufacturers, middlemen, wholesalers, and retailers do not absorb these reductions in the tariff, these articles in common use should be much cheaper to the consumer. Now, what will be the effect upon the consumer? The National Clothiers' Association says that it must add $3 to $12 suits and $5 to $20 suits because of the increase in the cost of cloth on account of the tariff. There has not been a penny's increase in this tariff, either in wool or in the cloth. The cloth in a $12 suit costs $3, and the duty on the wool would be 75 cents. The cost of the cloth in a $20 suit is $5, and the duty on the wool is $1.25. As there has been no increase this year in wages, rentals, buttons, thread, and other things which make up a suit of clothes, it is evident that if an advance is made it must be an additional profit to the manufacturers and retailers of ready-made clothes. The reduction on boots and shoes will amount to from 30 to 50 cents a pair to the manufacturer.

Of the $15,000,000 of additional revenue gained from the increase of tariff duties upon liquors and luxuries, about one-half is lost again in the reduction of the tariff from the present rate upon the necessaries of life. But when we add to the additional revenue upon these articles the nearly $10,000,000 more which is to come from tobacco, and from $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 which is to come from the corporation tax, and the still additional income which will come from prosperity and greater purchasing powers, our revenues will be in excess of expenditures and the Government on "Easy Street."

If we are to retain the protective system, with its underlying principle of maintaining American industries and the American standard of wages and employment for American workingmen, and have markets for our ever-increasing productive power, this Taft-Payne-Aldrich law is the fairest, the most equitable, and the most beneficent tariff bill which has been passed in our history. It will have had fifteen months of operation before a general election, and in that time will have demonstrated its value. There has been an increase in the cost of living during the last ten years. The same thing is true in all highly organized industrial countries. There has been little increase in the cost of cloth-

ing or rentals, and none in transportation. The increase has been mainly in the cost of food, which makes up so large a proportion of the expense of a family averaging five or more members. Wheat was selling at the time of the enactment of the McKinley Bill at 65 cents a bushel. It now brings $1.20 at the farmers' doors. Corn was selling then at 15 cents a bushel and it is now bringing 65 cents. Beef on the hoof was then selling below the cost of production—I think about 4 cents a pound—and now it is selling at 7½ cents. These are the principal articles which enter into the food of the family. Tariff people believe that this increase is due to the enormous advance in the demand because of the purchasing power of the American people from remunerative employment due to protection.

If, as the statistics apparently prove, there were 3,000,000 out of employment, and with little or no purchasing power for themselves and their families, in 1896 and 1897, and they have been reemployed and employment found for all those who had work at that time and 7,650,000 additional, it will at once be seen where this greater demand has given higher prices to the farmer, though his cost of production has not been increased at all. So far as the farmer is concerned in this tariff, while reductions have been made, as I have cited, in almost everything which he uses, the tariff on his wheat, corn, oats, rye, beans, onions, potatoes, flaxseed, butter, cheese, poultry, cattle, horses, sheep, milk, eggs, and hay has remained the same as in the Dingley Bill, except the slight raise in some of these products.

Democratic objectors to the tariff complain that the schedules are not reduced to the old-fashioned Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only; at the same time in the articles in which their own States are interested, they have generally demanded the highest duties known in the bill, claiming, however, that it is not for protection, but for revenue—as pineapples, for instance, at 128 per cent. increase. The Republican insurgents admit that there has been a reduction downward in the tariff duties from the rates in the McKinley Bill, but they complain that it has not gone far enough in articles which are produced in other States than their own, but in the articles in which their States are interested it has gone too far.

They complain still further that during the five months the bill was under consideration they were not able to understand

all its provisions, nor had time to inform themselves in regard to the justice or the injustice of the schedules in the bill. They denounce the Republican majority which supported the Finance Committee in its conclusions, the conference report, and perfected bill, and are specially hostile to, and critical of, this law, which meets the judgment of eight-tenths of the Republicans of the House of Representatives, eight-tenths of the Republicans of the Senate, and has the emphatic approval of President Taft, who did so much to bring about the conclusions which were asked for and expected by the American people. The difficulty with the insurgent Senators is that while they had a case, or thought they had, when shouting so long and so loudly for revision downward, after the Chief Executive of the United States secured such radical reductions and then set his seal of approval upon the law as revising downward according to party pledges and popular expectation, they must necessarily, while still opposing the measure, include President Taft in their criticism and denunciation.

We of the majority, marching under the leadership of our President, have no explanations to make, because we know the beneficent results which have already been experienced and believe that greater will follow. The operations of the new tariff law will be the most eloquent speech which could be delivered in its behalf and in justification of our votes. But our insurgent friends must explain and, so long as their critical attitude is unchanged, keep on explaining why they are more intelligent, more virtuous, and more public spirited than the official leader of their party and the great majority of their political associates in the two Houses of Congress.

The difference between my insurgent friends and the majority is that, while they were the largest contributors to the 9,776,000 words in the tariff speeches in the *Congressional Record* and contributed hardly a line to the tariff law, we who supported the bill stayed in the kitchen with the cook and know exactly not only the ingredients, but the amount of each and the time required for perfection in the cooking of a cake which will be enjoyed this Christmas by the whole American people, and the cake will be larger and richer with each recurring anniversary.

With the passage of the new tariff bill, we enter upon a period of prosperity unknown in the history of this or any other country. From results gathered by careful examinations all over the coun-

try, there will be an increase in the production of winter wheat, spring wheat, corn, oats, barley, and rye in 1909 over 1908, in round numbers, of one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine millions of bushels, or 27 per cent., and that 27 per cent. increase is in comparison with a normal year. There will be an increase in the hay crop in the same period of over three and a half millions of tons. The following summary of crop reports, not including cotton, will give some idea of the situation:

	1908	1909	Difference	Per cent
	Bushels.	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	
Winter wheat	437,908,000	451,175,000	13,267,000	3
Spring wheat	226,694,000	301,427,000	74,733,000	33
Corn	2,668,651,000	3,419,287,000	750,636,000	28
Oats	807,093,898	1,119,061,000	311,967,102	38
Barley	166,756,000	183,431,000	16,675,000	10
Rye	31,851,000	33,443,000	1,592,000	5
Total	4,338,953,898	5,507,824,000	1,168,870,102	27
Hay	70,862,596	74,441,146	3,578,000	5.5

When we take into consideration the prices which this enormous product of five thousand five hundred millions of bushels is bringing, which will all be additional riches from the soil, the imagination is appalled at the new wealth which is to come to the country. To absorb and pay for this vast production the mills must be running, the factories on full time, the mines opened, and the transportation companies crowded with freight. This tariff is the efficient instrument to bring about these results.

I have been a close student of industrial conditions in the United States and other countries for more than fifty years. I have read with much interest the alarming opinions given by able men in regard to future conditions in the United States on food and fuel supplies. There seems to be a consensus of judgment among these gentlemen that unless very radical measures are taken by the Government, the States, and the people generally our situation at the end of the next fifty years will be deplorable. My investigations, observations, and experience lead me to opposite conclusions. The country was never so prosperous in every way as it is to-day, and we will be able to meet the needs of an increasing population in the future as we have steadily done in the past. The greatest fear of these writers is the exhaustion of

our natural resources, the wastefulness of our agriculture, and the end of our coal and iron. The anthracite coal deposits will undoubtedly be used up within the next sixty to seventy-five years, but there is no limit to the bituminous. The enormous resources of Alaska have not yet been touched, and mining has only scratched great veins in many of the States and Territories. While the pessimist says that our coal will last only one hundred years, I read recently a very complete analysis of our possibilities from scientific geologists and coal experts which put the limit at three thousand years. If it is only a thousand we need not worry.

If our forests had been destroyed at the rate of timber cutting prior to fifteen years ago, the predictions of the alarmists would have been realized, but the present policy of conservation can not be reversed. Reforestization will be conducted on a large scale, and in the older sections of the country there is a care of trees never known before, and interest with education concerning them is constantly growing. Germany and Switzerland find their wood supply sufficient for their needs because of scientific conservation and cutting. With an adaptation of the methods which have proven successful in these old countries by our own Forest Service, the danger which was seriously threatening us twenty years ago has been averted. We have to-day more merchantable timber, proportionate to the population, than either Germany or Switzerland or France. We not only have entered upon, but have developed an intelligent forest service. It is fiercely fought by lumbermen, who wish to make all there can be in a single generation, and by politicians in the States where the forest reserves are mainly located, but the fact that these forests are among the best, the most productive, and the most beneficent assets of the whole people of the United States is becoming so well understood that no administration and no party can survive an attempt to invade these rights.

Now, as to the food supply. The same fears have been common in Great Britain and on the Continent for three hundred years, but each generation has found the means to live better than its predecessor. Invention and machinery applied to manufactures not only saved agricultural England from starvation when its farmers failed to produce enough to feed one-tenth of the population, but it drew from other countries a better and more varied food supply than the people had ever known before, and

enabled the artisans to live upon a higher scale of comfort than their brethren who worked in the field.

Soon after the Franco-Prussian War Bismarck, in a conversation with a friend of mine, said that the peril of Germany was the German cradle; that the increase in population was much more rapid than the possibilities for employment or the production of food; that there would be a most perilous congestion unless territories could be won for colonization. That view was entertained by most of the statesmen and political economists of Germany at that time. Germany, under this belief, annexed a large portion of the continent of Africa and put the Monroe Doctrine in imminent danger by encroachment upon American territory in South America. The present Emperor developed another policy. It was to stimulate manufactures, intensify agriculture, and promote by every species of government aid foreign commerce. The result has been that in thirty years Germany, with more than double her population, is supporting them better than at any previous period in her history.

The wastefulness of our people is simply a weakness of our common human nature. Very few of us will work except under the spur of necessity. It is a rare man or woman who loves work for its own sake. Few of us will endure continuing hardships or privations to accumulate property. Live to-day and let to-morrow care for itself is the general practice. When our transportation system by rail and water became perfected, it brought about the following results: We had an enormous area of unoccupied productive land belonging to the Government. To earn a living, educate the children, and pay taxes upon a farm in the older States which cost from $60 to $100 an acre became difficult. Conditions which would have been luxurious for a farmer in Europe called for unaccustomed work and privations from us. The sons and daughters of the farmers found that they could move cheaply to new lands, upon which, with less exertion, they could raise more than their fathers did on the old homestead, while their interest charge was on $1.60 an acre instead of $100, and their taxes proportionately less.

The sons also found that they could get their products to market from their practically free farms almost as cheaply as their fathers could in the older States. There was no spur of necessity to learn or to practice scientific agriculture, because

the opportunities for emigration and settlement could be endlessly repeated.

Free land is now practically exhausted; therefore, say our pessimistic philosophers, the perils of failure of occupation and of food supply are imminent. Modern history demonstrates that, given the conditions of a free people, each generation finds means for taking care of itself. In other words, improved methods rarely precede their necessity, but accompanying the narrowing of free acreage has come the enlargement of the work of the Agricultural Department at Washington, the establishment of experiment stations by the States, and the distribution of agricultural schools and colleges all over the country.

A friend of mine, a railroad man, looking forward to retirement from the hard work of his profession, bought a farm in Iowa. The ancestor of the owner received it from the Government at a dollar and sixty cents an acre. He had his own living and that of his family out of the farm, and with its proceeds brought up, educated, and started in life his children. The son who took the farm for his portion repeated the same thing, only he had to work harder and had to replenish the exhaustion of the soil. The grandson did the same thing, but neither lived so freely nor had so much leisure as his father or his grandfather; but while he had to work harder he also worked far more intelligently than either. He made up his mind to retire, and sold his farm for considerably over $100 an acre. The magazine writer on railroads would call this increment on the land an outrageous watering of the stock if it had come to a pioneer in railway construction. Now, the railroad man who was brought up on the farm and went from the plow to the train dispatcher's office, and from there to the presidency of a great system, will apply to that farm the scientific methods which are at the convenience of every farmer of the country from the Agricultural Department and the agricultural stations and make it produce twice as much as it ever did before. If the owner had remained in possession, increasing taxes and their burdens would have stimulated him to do the same thing.

In the philosophy of life an enormous majority of people require the spur of necessity before they acquire habits of industry or their ambition is aroused. We as yet, happily, have not felt the prick of the spur to any appreciable extent.

I was through the West in 1894 when from overproduction and other causes all the products of the farm were selling for less than cost. Now the farmers are richer than ever in our experience, with fewer mortgages and more money in the banks, because industrial conditions create a demand which is responded to in prices.

In going through France this summer I was impressed more than ever before with the Frenchman's utilization of every foot of ground. There is no idle soil. The French farmer is the banker of Europe. He has loaned to Russia a thousand millions of dollars and enormous sums have come from his stockings and gone into government and municipal securities and promotions in Algeria and the French colonies. Start from New York and ride by daylight to Washington, and then by daylight again on to Jacksonville, Fla., and so on to Key West, and one will see idle land and agricultural opportunities enough to support, under proper care and cultivation, a population as large as that of the Middle States. The reason that land is not occupied and made as productive as the farms of France is because no necessity has yet arisen. No demand has come from the market which would induce the immigrant to settle, work, study, and economize. Belgium is the most thickly populated country in the world. Her agriculture is infinitesimal in proportion to her needs, and yet her food supply is sufficient to her wants. Our farmers are getting more and more away from the hand-to-mouth methods which were sufficient for their fathers, and we will progress in making the partially abandoned farms productive and better ones more productive as there is a paying demand for their products. But we must remember that there is in Canada an area of wheat lands developed by railways almost as large as the wheat lands of the United States. The process which I have mentioned that carried the sons of our farmers to our own Government lands is carrying them rapidly across the border to the Canadian fields.

We have not as yet an intelligent comprehension of the future productive possibilities of South America. The Argentine Republic, with an area one-third as large as the United States and enormously productive, has a population of only about seven millions of people, but is rivaling us in supplying Great Britain with wheat and beef. Brazil, with an area as large as the United States and a population of about twenty-millions, possesses agri-

cultural opportunities sufficient to become the granary almost of the world. South and Central America have an area possessing enormous productive power more than twice as large as the United States, and their resources have not yet attracted immigration to any considerable extent. Mexico, with an area of one-third of the United States, and capable of producing everything grown in the temperate and tropical zones, has a population of only fifteen millions. American capital and enterprise, having the assurance of a stable government under Diaz, are building a network of railroads through the country which will enormously stimulate immigration and production.

These suggestions of Mexico, South America, and Canada are the reserves of food supply when the United States becomes, like Great Britain, more a workshop than a farm. But our alarmists leave out of account in their fearsome calculations the progress of science and the effect of its discoveries upon our agricultural development. When natural supplies for recuperation and reclamation of the soil were becoming scarce and too dear for profitable application science discovered the possibilities of producing marketable nitrogen in unlimited quantities from the air. We are as yet in the infancy of electrical transmission, but there are stored in the Sierras, the Rockies, the Alleghenies, the White and the Green mountains limitless water powers for the creation of electricity. Every year the extent to which it can be productively and practically transmitted is extended. It is now within the bounds of practical application to largely supersede the use of coal for manufacturing, house heating and housekeeping, and the operation of railways and steamships.

The Reclamation Service of the United States is, by storage reservoirs and the distribution of water through ditches, making the great American desert which was the bugaboo of our youth the garden of the country. Four millions of acres of reclaimed desert, making families rich on 40 acres in the farm, because of the productiveness of the soil under scientific cultivation, make every one of those farms a stimulating university and agricultural school for the farmers of the whole country. Sixty million additional acres will soon be offered to the people. The increase of domestic demand has, up to date, been so much greater year by year than the proportionate output of the farms that if continued

for a few years we would change from one of the largest exporting nations to an importing nation of food products. Yet scientific farming and new areas of desert, made fertile by the Reclamation Service, and other areas made profitable by the suggestions of the Agricultural Department and the experiment stations of the States, will stimulate production to such an extent as to postpone indefinitely the period when the United States will cease to be self-sustaining in its own supply of food. Information has come to me of what one man accomplished who bought a farm which had been practically abandoned in northern New York, near the Canadian line. After he had put his farm in productive condition he raised last year 354 bushels of potatoes to the acre, 50 bushels of shelled corn, 35 tons of beets, and 4 tons of hay. This production equals any on the best farm in the fertile West. If the same processes were extended over the State, New York would resume her old place as foremost in agriculture among the States. This experiment can be indefinitely repeated. Equally intelligent operations in the old as well as the new States will keep us in the lead as a food-exporting nation and present opportunities of feeding five hundred millions of people when our population has reached that figure. Reckless cutting of timber off the Appalachian Mountains is destroying our supply of hard wood, and, by floods and erosions caused by denuding the hills, carrying $30,000,000 worth of farms into the rivers and ocean every year. Ten millions of dollars, the price of a battleship, would make a forest reserve of these mountains and save these farms. A bill to accomplish this has passed the Senate three times and has always been defeated in the House of Representatives because, apparently, farms were so cheap and plenty as yet that the House of Representatives saw no necessity of appropriating $10,000,000 to purchase the forests and then administer them under scientific conditions where they would support themselves and thus save $30,000,000 worth of farms a year.

Some two and a half millions of new arceage goes under cultivation this year. Our farms will add in the coming year to the wealth of the country in the neighborhood of nine thousand millions of dollars. There is now on deposit in the banks of the United States in round numbers thirteen thousand six hundred millions of dollars, belonging to 25,000,000 of depositors. Of

these, 6,000,000 are depositors in the savings banks, with fifteen hundred millions to their credit. Uncle Sam on this Christmas can smoke his pipe in peace and, while serenely surveying the future, felicitate himself and congratulate the people upon the happy conditions of the present and our brilliant prospects for the future.

NEW YORK TRANSPORTATION CLUB

SPEECH AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE TRANSPORTATION CLUB OF NEW YORK TO LIEUTENANT SHACKLETON,[1] MARCH 30, 1910.

GENTLEMEN: We are happy and proud to welcome as our guest here to-night Lieutenant Shackleton. The American people admire a man of worthy achievement in any department of human endeavor. They admire him the more if it were at peril of life and limb, and they place upon his brow their choicest crown if in addition his work was done for humanity and science with absolute unselfishness. Our guest meets all these requirements.

The most fascinating adventures in all ages of the world have been connected with explorations. Humanity is impatient of barriers about unknown lands or seas whose mysteries have not been revealed. Old Herodotus, three thousand years ago, went to Egypt, then the center of learning and information, and gathered there all the knowedge of that time of Asia, Europe, and Africa. Within the last half-century daring Englishmen and Americans have demonstrated in the sources of the Nile and the pygmies of the forest that the stories of Herodotus were not fairy tales but realities. Marco Polo was regarded for hundreds of years as an adventurer who owed his distinction to the fact that he was the most audacious and limitless of liars, but subsequent travelers have rescued from the fame of untruth to transfer to the oblivion of the commonplace the name of Marco Polo. Neither the excitements of wars nor the triumphs of diplomacy so much interested our country when I was a young man as Doctor Kane's narrative of arctic explorations and Livingstone's travels in Central Africa. Sir John Franklin and his fate, with the heroic effort of his wife to find something of him and his comrades, interested and fascinated the world. The efforts made by James Gordon Bennett and Mr. Grinnell to pierce the icy bar-

[1]Lieutenant Ernest Henry Shackleton, born 1869, educated at Dulwich College, led the British Antarctic Expedition in 1908-09, and reached a point 111 miles from the South Pole. He was knighted in 1909.—*Ed.*

riers in this humane search interested English-speaking peoples all over the world.

I remember talking with an eminent literary man of sympathetic heart who was describing how much he had suffered in reading of the adventures in arctic explorations, how pained he had been by the loss of so many brave men and the sacrifices again of those who had been sent out to find or rescue, and in a wild burst of indignation and cry for relief he said to me, "I wish you would secure the passage of a law by Congress putting to death any man who proposed trying to find the northwest passage or the North Pole, and then those who were not discouraged would meet with a speedy end, and we would not be harrowed for months or years before the lamentable result was made known to us."

Except the exploration of Admiral Wilkes, we have left the South Pole mainly to our English brethren, but we have shared the quest of the North Pole with them, with the Norwegians, the Danes, and the Italians. But it is the Americans and the English who have gone oftenest and been most successful in these wonderful voyages. No estimate can be made large enough to include the beneficent results of this lure of the wild. It brought Columbus across the seas and contributed to the world the Western Hemisphere. It carried Livingstone and Stanley through Africa and opened the dark continent to the necessities of civilized nations. "Ah!" says the pessimist, "that is all very well, but why risk valuable lives and lose them amidst the icebergs of the North or the perpetual snows of the South?" When, after twenty-three years of effort, the North Pole surrendered to Commander Peary, it was not a vain quest, and when, after innumerable failures by others, Lieutenant Shackleton came in sight of the South Pole, and would have hung his flag upon it if his provisions had held out, it was not a mere adventure. All nations are so united now that the virility of races is being sapped by luxury and indolence. These excursions North and South are invaluable to science and through science to navigation and through navigation to commerce, but they are more valuable in keeping alive in the youth of our peoples the spirit which animated the Crusades and without which there can neither be national safety nor national glory. It is this spirit which has encircled the globe with the

flag of England. It is this spirit which has enabled the United States to dominate beneficently the Western Hemisphere. With the Stars and Stripes flying from the North Pole and the Union Jack from the South Pole, the whole world becomes sympathetic with the civilization of humanity and of constitutional liberty.

ONEIDA REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET OF THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION OF ONEIDA COUNTY AT UTICA, NEW YORK, APRIL 18, 1910.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It gives me great pleasure to be here to-night. No county in the State has, since the formation of the Republican Party, possessed a more vigorous, aggressive and fighting membership than the Republican Organization of old Oneida. Horace Greeley once said to me that there was more politics to the square inch in Oneida than all the rest of the State put together, and that the county had always exercised an undue influence in both parties. Well, such things are not accidents, when lightning strikes a place once, it is an accident, but when it keeps striking there it is a law of nature. Your history is a fine illustration of that much-derided and temporarily unpopular person the party leader. I am one of those hardened political sinners who believe that training, intelligence, aptitude, industry and devotion to the cause is more likely to produce satisfactory results and lead the party to victory than Christian Science methods. I do not believe in the theory, which has become fashionable with many writers and speakers, that Austerlitz could have been won without Napoleon, Waterloo without Wellington, Princeton and Yorktown without Washington, the March to the Sea without Sherman and Appomattox without Grant.

When I became active in State affairs, as a member of the Legislature and Secretary of State, Roscoe Conkling, Mr. Kellogg, Mr. Matthewson and others, were Oneida leaders in State and National reputation, while, on the other hand, no statesman occupied a more unique position than Horatio Seymour. The best traditions of those early days survive in the presence of our chairman of the evening, your fellow-citizen the Vice-president of the United States. I have known many presiding officers of the Senate, but none who brought to that great position, most difficult because there are practically no rules, so much of parliamentary skill, of that abounding good nature which secured for

him the sobriquet of "Sunny Jim," of that talent as a mixer which makes him equally popular everywhere and with everybody, and at the same time that tact, with firmness, so essential to the gentleman occupying the chair as is possessed by the present presiding officer of the most august body in the world.

New conditions are constantly arising among progressive peoples requiring new policies, new measures and new revenues to meet the situation. The successful leader or organization or party is the one who in recognizing the present foresees the requirements of the future. When the people cease to take interest in and to subordinate in a measure their private affairs to public duties, there come in the life of a community or a nation stagnation and decay.

It is the storm, the hurricane and the cyclone, driving the depth of oceans to peaks of mountain waves, which prevent the water from becoming putrid, which makes it instinct with life, which purify the air and send clouds with concentrated moisture upon their fertilizing mission over the land. So, party success and successful leadership come out of the never-ceasing struggle between clashing ideas and opinions. Just now there is a remarkable wave of pessimism sweeping over the country. There have recently been resounding through the Senate, the House of Representatives and banquet halls and echoing and re-echoing in the magazines and the newspapers dire predictions of disaster to our party. We are told that we have failed to live up to the platform upon which President Taft was elected and a Republican majority secured in the House of Representatives. We are told that there must be reorganization from top to bottom and new alignments, new methods, new principles and new men. John Hay, our brilliant Secretary of State and accomplished Ambassador to Great Britain, used to tell a story about himself of how a sudden attack threw him into such agonies of pain and throes of dissolution that he and his friends thought he had an attack of heart disease. The most eminent physician in Engiand was immediately summoned, who, upon examination, gruefully announced that the trouble was not heart disease but indigestion, and Hay recovered, living to take his place in history as one of the most eminent, originative and powerful of statesmen. This eminent doctor said that the symptoms of an acute attack of heart disease and of indigestion are very similar. In the one

case you send for the doctor, and in the other for a bottle of castor oil. Our present trouble is nothing more serious than the castor-oil period.

Our insurgent friends say that we have no present issues and that we are wholly on the defensive. A dominant and continuing successful party does not frame issues. It frames constructive legislation. If there is an issue, it is because somebody is opposed to that legislation. Examples are in all your minds of this truth. The resumption of specie payments was a policy. The enemy antagonized it and made it an issue. The gold standard was a policy. The enemy antagonized it and made it an issue. The regulation of corporations was a policy. The enemy antagonized it and made it an issue. The platform of 1904 with Roosevelt upon it and of 1908 with Taft upon it was a policy, but the enemy made it an issue. When all these issues were submitted to the people, the policies of the Republican Party have been sustained by constantly increasing majorities, and those policies have become part of the laws of the United States.

Now, what is the trouble with our pessimistic friends? Why are they having nightmare at night and chills in the daytime? The answer is not difficult. It is because the regular and ordinary processes of perfecting beneficent policies into legislation is not so exciting as the creation of them, because creation seems to be revolution and revolution always stirs enthusiasm and animosities.

Roosevelt possessed an instinctive intuition in regard to the people's aspirations or fears, unsurpassed by any of our statesmen. The tremendous increase of wealth, the constant consolidation of large corporations into larger ones since 1896, the marvelous prosperity of the country, the stimulation and energizing of all its industries and productive powers had created, unknown to most of us, new and dangerous conditions. There was a spirit of unrest throughout the land, accompanied by an indefinable fear that the rights of the individual and of the small business man and of the ambitious youth might in some way be in peril.

Public sentiment, when once aroused, speedily becomes crystallized into law. Things done in haste are rarely wise. We were rapidly coming to Government ownership or Government control as the solution of these great questions. Government ownership meant socialism. It meant an enormous increase in

the business carried on by the Government, with a vast employment beyond the possibility of proper solution, regulation or control. It meant dividing the population into two classes—the office-holding and the non-office-holding—and the non-office-holding supporting the others. But Government control is distinctly within the genius of our institutions. It means the creation of boards or commissions to which the people can go without cost to themselves with their grievances and their complaints, and before which great corporations must go and answer.

I originated the railroad commission in this State nearly thirty years ago to take the railroad out of politics and the railway lobby away from Albany. Through the Railway Commission and its final evolution into the Public Service Commission the result has been eminently satisfactory. The Railway Rate Bill of the Roosevelt administration and what is known as the Elkins Anti-Discrimination Bill were intended to accomplish the same results in the General Government by a proper enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The direst disasters were predicted by a large body of railway men who always fear Government control, but nothing has been done, nor is there anything proposed to be done by Taft which goes one step beyond the public service laws of the State of New York.

I think every railway manager to-day feels that it is better to have a Government tribunal which is fair and able and with power than eternal agitation and its perils, and every railway investor feels safer in his stocks and in his bonds, and every railway shipper and traveler feels more secure and better satisfied. What President Taft has made part of his legislative programme on this question is simply perfecting what has already been partially accomplished. But perfecting either a State or statute is not as spectacular and exciting as its creation.

The Administration Railway Bill of President Taft is now being discussed in both Houses of Congress. The only great criticism made against it is that in its preparation the President consulted not only with his Cabinet, with the great lawyers in the two Houses of Congress, with the shippers and commercial organizations, but with the railway managers. Taft's education is that of a judge. Here is a measure which intimately affects capital and labor, the manufacturer, the farmer, the merchant,

the artisan, the mechanic, the laborer and the investor, large and small, which affects the sixteen billions and a half of securities upon which largely rest the credit and banking powers of the country. A President who would not consult everyone who could contribute anything to his information for the perfection of a law of this magnitude and extent would be unfit for his office. The principle at the bottom of this bill is to extend the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission over railway corporations; that is, the powers of the Government over them, and, beyond the railway commission, to create a Court of Appeals of a standard and character on the lines of the Supreme Court of the United States, with powers to pass upon every act in the operation, transportation and financing of the railroads of the country. With these two tribunals, created by the Government and composed of Government officers, the Government itself has the control and the responsibility for just and fair dealing between the people and the railway corporations. When this measure becomes a law, its administration will be a continuing tribute to the wisdom and statesmanship of President Taft.

"But," cry our critics inside and outside of the party, "it is in the new tariff that pledges have been violated and the people deceived." A protective tariff, upon Republican principles, has for its first object revenues to support the Government, its second, giving the American market the best market in the world to American capital and labor, and, its third, to place such duties upon importations that the standard of wages and of living may be higher and better in the United States than in the countries competing in the manufacture and production of the same goods. This much-abused tariff has now been in operation a year. It met, as it had to meet at first, the attacks of the thousands who were dissatisfied. It is impossible in a law which touches every interest to satisfy everybody. I noticed this in the discussions, that the wildest insurgent for a revision downward wanted no reduction in the productions of his own State, and that the most enthusiastic Democrat for a tariff for revenue only wanted the highest and most prohibitive tariff upon everything produced by his own constituents. The tariff bill as finally passed secured the votes of seven-eighths of the Republicans in both Houses of Congress and the signature of a Republican President of the United States. Now, what say the one-eighth who are proud

to call themselves "insurgents?" They say, "We are the Republican Party, we possess its brains, its ability and its statesmanship, we know what were the pledges and how they should be fulfilled, and we declare that the seven-eighths who had the same responsibility under their oaths of office as we did and the President of the United States are not Republicans." Well, gentlemen, what are the results? President Taft was facing the deficit of a hundred millions of dollars. He closed the first year of his administration with a surplus of thirty-five millions of dollars. There was unrest everywhere in the country and there never has been a time when so much of the products of the farm and the factory were being moved and such prices received for them, and when employment was so universal, and when wages were so high as they have become since the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill.

"But," cries the critic, "look at the high prices." High prices and prosperity always go together. They say the tariff made the high prices. Hides were put on the free list, and the farmer claimed that it would reduce the price of every steer and cow in the country, but hides are selling, since the passage of the bill, 25 per cent. higher than they did before.

The whole claim of the insurgents is that there should have been a greater reduction in cotton and in wool and that lumber should have been placed on the free list. But the increase in prices is not in clothing. It is in food. Our insurgent friends all come from farming States, but they make no suggestion of a reduction in the tariff upon farm products. The framers of this bill, and the President who signed it, took into consideration the fact that in a protective tariff the farmer must be considered as well as the manufacturer, and the laborer as well as the capitalist. The result of their deliberations is that all are better off to-day than they were before. We, of New York, when the claim was made that lumber should go on the free list faced a proposition that would have wiped out Tonawanda with its thirty thousand people, and would have reduced Ogdensburg to a country village, would have destroyed the industry and the prosperity of Northern New York and reacted upon the income of every business in the County of Oneida.

In 1896, at the time of the enactment of the Dingley Tariff, and for two years before, farmers were not receiving for their

wheat, their oats, and their live stock what it cost to raise them, and there were three millions of men, representing, with their families, fifteen millions of people, out of employment and in want. The Republican tariff acted like magic. The country has been advancing by leaps and bounds from then until now. These two experiences demonstrated that high prices and low prices depend upon the purchasing power. When money is plenty, with us Americans, money is free. We do not hoard. We spend. In 1894, wheat was 65 cents a bushel, corn 15 cents a bushel, cattle 4 cents on the hoof, and hogs 4 cents. Now, wheat is $1.16 a bushel, corn 65 cents, cattle 9 cents and hogs 11 cents. Now, there is money to buy with and so many buyers that it makes a scarcity and increases the prices. Then, there was no money to buy with and the ultimate consumer was starving and the producer going into bankruptcy. An overcoat may look mighty cheap for $10, but if you have got only $1, it is nine dollars dear. The same overcoat may look dear at $15, but if you have $20 in your pocket, you have got an overcoat and a surplus.

But this is not the only time that there have been high prices. Take wheat as the barometer. In 1888 it was $2 a bushel; in 1898, $1.85; in 1904, $1.22; in 1905, $1.24; while now it is $1.16.

We need not lament the good old days when we think of the better days either of the Republic or of the Republican Party.

Our State, without distinction of party, is proud of its Vice-president.

We have in the Senate of the United States what has been long needed, a great lawyer, a great diplomatist, and a statesman versed in national and constitutional law, in our Senator Elihu Root.

We have at Albany a gentleman who, in his brief public career, has become a figure of national importance, has secured the passage of wise and beneficent laws and reflected honor upon our State, and whom, if he would permit, the people would gladly continue in an office which he has so highly adorned. I mean Governor Hughes.

We are fortunate in our President. We need as Chief Magistrate in the present condition of affairs, which is largely one of settlement, a man trained in judicial position—a great judge—and we have him. The same as when he was an ornament to the Bench, he listens patiently, takes all papers and reads them

carefully and his decisions will stand the test of the most critical scrutiny. It has been the habit since Plutarch to run a parallel between statesmen of different periods. It is unjust to predecessor and successor. We have just celebrated the one hundred and first anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. That there was in the country at that time no man equally fitted for the great crisis is admitted the same as there was no man in the country at the time of the Revolution equally fitted for that peril like George Washington, and yet they were wholly unlike and doubtless neither could have performed the task of the other. So, in our period of rounding up and perfecting legislation, some of which was wise and some crude, during industrial crises, we need for President of the United States neither a militant Washington nor a pacific Lincoln. We need just what we have, Judge William H. Taft.

MEMORIAL TO VICE-PRESIDENT HOBART

ADDRESS ON RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF VICE-PRESIDENT GARRET A. HOBART, IN THE U. S. SENATE, JANUARY 10, 1900.

MR. PRESIDENT: In mid-ocean, on one of the great steamships, some years ago, a gentleman extended his hand and said: "I am Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey. I know you, and want you to know me." Afterward, in the confidences of fellow-passengers on the sea, he said: "The value of success is not so much in the things it enables you to do, as the consideration it gives you in the minds of others. I have been successful, and I want that understood and appreciated." In this incident came out the character of the man—the freshness, the frankness, the unspoiled joy of the boy, as happy over the things which gave pleasure and importance to his friends as he felt sure they would be over his own advancement.

The financial distress which caused hard times in 1894 and 1895 produced a widespread spirit of pessimism and despair. It resurrected the question, "Is life worth the living?" which had been discussed nightly at Athenian dinners in the time of Plato and Socrates. The doubt is not American. The most emphatic affirmation of this question is evidenced in the life and career of our friend. He was an illustration of what is possible under American conditions and with American opportunities, with equal laws for all, and no class or privilege barring the way to the highest places in the land. At nineteen he was a graduate of Rutgers College, and for six years teaching school and studying law; and at twenty-five he was called to the Bar and began his battle with and in the world. Without money or influence, but with brains, education, health, industry and character, his was the typical beginning of most of the youth of our country. His confidence in himself and his future led to an early marriage and an ideal domestic life. At fifty-three he was among the foremost citizens of his State in every department of its activities. He was a leader in his profession of the law and of his political party; he had been repeatedly honored by his fellow-citizens in positions of trust and power; he had accumulated a fortune, and

was Vice-president of the United States. The idle and the incompetent will find no comfort here for their favorite theory that success in life is luck. He had the good fortune to be descended from that mixed Dutch-English ancestry which has the inspiration of glorious traditions of civil and religious liberty, of literature and adventure, of art and arms, of indomitable endurance, of conquest over all obstacles and of strenuous endeavor which no difficulties can discourage. It was his happy lot to have his career to work out in this Republic, and in the latter half of this marvelous nineteenth century. With these advantages, common to millions, fortune withdrew her assistance, and the brilliant example we contemplate was the result of the energy and ability of this fine specimen of a self-made man. At the threshold of his career, by profession and membership, he proclaimed himself a Christian, and as he began, so he contiued until his death, a consistent child of the Church. His was not the religion which in Jonathan Edwards's period filled the churches with terror and in our time empties their pews, but the religion of the Evangelist Moody, which rests upon the Golden Rule. Preferring always his own way, he recognized with a broad charity that the paths pursued by others led to the same heaven, and could be more easily trod by them. He had no aggressive faith which fought, on dogma, other creeds and sects, but he was at all times active in the good works which are common to all creeds and all sects.

The scholar in politics is the familiar theme for academic discussion. His duty to participate all admit, his usefulness is often doubted. He too frequently lacks that touch with affairs and knowledge of men which are necessary to give him the weight in party councils due to his character and culture. The business man in politics is the hope of the present and future. The measures we carry here are reflected in the markets of the world, and react upon the farm, the factory, the furnace and the mine. Their influence for good or evil is felt in every home. They tie Government and its policies so closely to the manufacturer, merchant, farmer and mechanic, that business is politics and politics is business. Men of fortune or of large affairs often affect contempt for those in public life and denounce with unbridled license the conduct of national, State and municipal matters. They complain bitterly of taxes and the burden of Government. They are entitled to no sympathy. They are suffering, if at all, from

their own want of appreciation of their duties as citizens and of patriotism. Mr. Hobart was, during his whole career, the lawyer and man of business, who keenly understood and laboriously lived up to a high ideal of citizenship. His party found him at the caucus and at the polls. He had time for conventions and public meetings. He could promote the best interests of his State by service in its Legislature, or remain in retirement while working diligently for the nomination and election of those best fitted for the offices to be filled. Charles James Fox said of Edmund Burke that "he was right, but right too soon." His speeches emptied the House of Commons in his time, but in our day are text-book and manual for British statesmen. Statesmen and reformers of this prophetic order sow the seed, but they do not govern. Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison, Lovejoy and John Brown created conditions which made it possible for Lincoln to act. Successful leaders grapple with the workaday elements about them, and combining the conscience and intelligence of the hour, solve the problems which more immediately concern their constituents and their country. The Vice-president was of this class. He was not troubled with illusions, nor bound by theories. He pitied the man who perpetually longs for the good old times and mourns the decadence of the present, and sympathized with the far more useful one who is providing for the unborn millions of the coming century. His lot was with neither. Acute questions, financial, industrial, international or moral, are always knocking at the door. Their settlement is vital to the position of the country among nations, or to the comfort and happiness of its people. Mr. Hobart was not a State builder nor a prophet, but was among the master workmen, who, as the years go by, slowly perfect the structure of Government by providing for its present needs, and are digging trenches or leading the assault against those who would destroy it.

The Joint Traffic Association was a conference of the thirty-seven railroads which carry the traffic of the country between the interior and the Atlantic Coast. Their quarrels and rate-cutting injured their investors, demoralized business and promoted trusts. The members were not capitalists nor speculators, but the hard-headed and able managers of these corporations who had come up from the ranks and adopted the operation of railways as both a career and a profession. Their efforts to cure the evils of the

situation were doomed to failure from the jealousies of large companies and the fear of small ones and the lack of any power to enforce their agreements. By unanimous vote they selected Garret A. Hobart as arbitrator. The questions submitted to him involved the revenue of the disputants and the movement by one route or another of a vast volume of freight. No judge ever held office by so precarious a tenure or had to decide more important matters. The defeated litigant could refuse to submit, or by carrying a charge of injustice, unfairness or incapacity into the governing body compel a resignation. As Chairman of the Association I was brought in frequent contact with him, his work and its difficulties. He administered that judicial responsibility for three years, resigning during the first year of his Vice-presidency. There could be no more significant tribute to his unfailing judgment, tact and character than the remarkable fact that there was never an appeal from his decisions, nor complaint of their fairness and justice. In this demonstration is found the secret of his success.

Very many in our country rise, by their own exertions, from nothing to affluence. The rapid evolutions caused by steam, electricity and invention given have numberless opportunities for the far-sighted and courageous to seize the hand of Fortune before their fellows know of her presence. These capable men of affairs are of two classes—the class who make what others lose and the class who benefit their associates or the community or the whole country by the developments they promote and the enterprises they create. The first are the pirates of society and of business. They are the fathers of communism and the foster-fathers of anarchy. The others are among the benefactors of their time. It was the characteristic of our friend that, possessing the far-sighted faculty, and having the sense and training to keep the curb of caution upon the promptings of acquisitiveness and imagination, he drew a large circle into his plans and all shared in the profits of his undertakings.

The founders of the Republic meant to provide for a successor to the President who should be equally worthy of the chief magistracy. But the machinery they devised gave the Vice-president no voice in the Government, and created an inevitable antagonism between him and the President. It revived in a form the old historic struggle of the able and ambitious

heir for recognition and influence in affairs of State. The contest began during our first administration. Confidence and cordiality were impossible between the self-centered Washington and the imperious Adams. With Adams and Jefferson was the mutual repulsion of the Puritan and the Cavalier. In Jefferson and Aaron Burr the revolutionist was seeking to destroy the patriot. The practical Jackson and the philosophic Calhoun were soon at war. The man of action threatened to hang the theorist, if he carried his ideas to their logical conclusions. With the growth of the country, the strength of parties and their internal dissensions, the Vice-presidency was thrown to the friends of disappointed candidates and at disaffected States to select the nominee and be appeased. Fillmore and Arthur discarded the friends of the dead President, and Tyler and Johnson reversed their politics and policies. The power in control at the White House and in Congress sought to minimize the Vice-president and make him obscure and innocuous. Happily for Mr. Hobart there was no conflict over candidates in the convention which nominated William McKinley. The partisans of defined policies had selected him as their best exponent in advance. There were no disappointed and vengeful interests to be reconciled. The choice settled upon Hobart as the most fit and available running mate for the Ohio statesman. Coming thus into this high office, his talent of common sense, and his charm of personality, made him, from the beginning, the friend and chosen counsellor of the President. He lifted the office out of the rut of conventionality and possibility to a position of dignity, usefulness and trust. He won the warm affection of his party associates and the esteem and respect of his party antagonists. He had the faculty of the wisely busy man of always having plenty of time, and that he shared with his friends in that hearty and healthy companionship which has made his name a hospitable memory at the Capitol. Though he died in his prime, with apparently years of usefulness before him, yet his was a full and rich life and a nobly rounded career. It is fitting that such a man should fall in battle with his armor on. The conspicuousness of his departure gives lustre to his example. Statesman, citizen, husband, father, friend, the sum of his worth among us is that he performed, with faithfulness and fidelity, with conscientious care and magnetic ardor, all the duties of public and private life.

MEMORIAL OF SENATOR SEWELL

ADDRESS ON RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF SENATOR WILLIAM J. SEWELL, OF NEW JERSEY, IN U.S. SENATE, DECEMBER 17, 1902.

MR. PRESIDENT: It was my privilege to know Senator William J. Sewell for more than a quarter of a century. He and I, during the whole of that period, were in the same profession. It brought us close together in the intimacy of antagonisms between our railroads and of friendships in our vocation. Our acquaintance and our intercourse ripened into the warmest friendship, and the more years I knew him the more I appreciated the qualities of mind and of heart which enabled him to accomplish the career which we celebrate here to-day.

I know of no example at this particular period which is so rich in encouragement as that of Senator Sewell. Extremes always go together, and we are just now, more than at any other time, at the extremes of optimism and pessimism. There never was a period in our history when for an American there was so much to be proud of, to be hopeful for, and to inspire ambition, as now. And there never has been a time when from the professor's chair to the pulpit, from the pulpit to the press, from the press to the platform, and from every public source, there were so many and such vigorous expressions in regard to the failure of our institutions for the present and future to permit the development of the individual. There is the universal cry everywhere that the combinations which are forming from the natural tendencies of our age, both of capital on the one side and of labor on the other, are every day wiping out the unit and recognizing only the mass.

It is the glory of our country that it has been builded upon the individual; that under our institutions, differing from all others of all other lands and of all times, it makes no difference what may be the start that the boy has in life, if he has in him the making of a career, our circumstances, conditions, environments and institutions enable him to carry it to the limit of his capacity. But we are told that this element in our institutions has been negatived by the character of our industrial and financial develop-

ment; that it is the corporation, it is the great organization of the trust, it is the mighty combination of labor which have wiped out the foundations upon which we have builded and everything which is the hope for the future of the Republic of the United States. So says the lecturer, the professor, the theorist, the agitator, and the demagogue.

Now, we have in the career of our friend the best answer to just that question. He arrived in this country from Ireland and started handicapped, as our American-born youth are not. All the great successes in our financial, industrial, and public life have been made by those who started with nothing, with no equipment except brains, character, industry and ambition. But they were American citizens with all that means. But here was a foreign-born lad with none of those influences of family to which he could go for advice and encouragement, and none of those influences of environment of the village or the hamlet or the neighborhood which would be proud of him and push him forward. Notwithstanding that, you have heard here in these various eulogies what he accomplished, and still do not live to the full period allotted to man.

He began as a poor boy without a penny and accumulated a fortune. He started in public life simply as a worker in the ranks of his party and reached the highest position that this country can give to one born upon a foreign soil. A member of the senate of his State, elected the president of its senate by his associates, after he had been there two terms and he was entering upon his third he was elected to the United States Senate and chosen for three successive terms. Beginning as a soldier in the humblest position as an officer, he rose by gallantry to be a brigadier-general, and was then brevetted a major-general for gallantry in the field. Commencing in the humblest capacity in the railway in which he worked for nearly forty years, he became the president of all its lines in the State in which he resided.

Now, there is another characteristic of his life which is a refutal of these pessimistic views. He began his career in the corporation, in which, if we believe the theorist, the individual is eliminated, and all private views, private character, private ambitions, and private ability are reduced to the general mass. And yet it was in that occupation, of the whole of his active life, in the service of one of the greatest corporations in this country that

he achieved in finance a success, in public life a success, in his profession a success, as a soldier a success, in any one of which any man would have been said by his neighbors and his family to have accomplished an honorable and distinguished career.

If I may be permitted a suggestion, as the trend of discussion here has been principally upon what he achieved, I think that his success was due to his directness and courage. The courage which he displayed upon the battlefield was the courage shown by millions of his fellow-citizens who served under the one flag or the other during the Civil War. But he had a higher quality than mere physical courage, which is admirable, but with which our race is gifted. He had a moral courage, and to that he owed the major part of his success.

During the period when he was most active in politics, when he was most ambitious for popular favor, there prevailed through this country that singular craze and prejudice which thought that the million of men engaged in the profession of railroading were unworthy of public confidence and were dangerous to nominate for public office. There were times when this rose so high that, while both parties wished the services of the railway man after the nominations were made, neither party dared nominate a man upon the pay roll of a railroad company for a village, a county, a State, or a national office.

Many who had ambitions at that period sought to gratify them by denying the profession in which they were engaged or minimizing it; but Senator Sewell always remembered that he was one of a million men engaged in a profession which required as much, at least, if not more, of ability, of intelligence, of sobriety, of industry, of fidelity, and all the qualities that go to make up good service and good citizenship, than any other pursuit in the country. He remembered the camaraderie that he had with these men, and he was determined that by no act of his should there be a slur cast upon his associates that they were unworthy of public confidence compared with those who were engaged in other gainful and reputable pursuits in our country.

It was the peculiarity of this craze, of this prejudice, that it affected only to those who were on the pay roll and receiving their stipend—salary, wages, whatever it might be—in the regular way from the treasury of the corporation. During the whole of that period the president or the general counsel could retain distin-

guished lawyers who would receive as compensation many times what the officer or the general counsel had in the way of salary, who would appear in the State and in the Federal courts, and sometimes when the Government and the corporation were in antagonism, and yet that politician becoming a statesman, could appear in court as counsel for the railway, and then upon the platform or in Congress denounce the corporation and keep the confidence of his fellow-citizens.

I remember an incident at a national convention where General Sewell and I were frequently in consultation upon this subject and in which I was personally interested, being voted for by many delegates, where a gentleman distinguished in his State and in the nation came to me and said, "You should retire instantly, for the sake of your party, from the position in which your State has put you as its candidate for President, because in our part of the country we have educated the people to believe that anyone who holds any position under a railroad, whether it is a brakeman, a conductor, a locomotive engineer, a freight man, a passenger agent, a president, or a general counsel, is unworthy of public confidence." I said, "My friend, what do you do?" "Well," he said, "I am so engaged and engrossed in public duties in my position as a member of Congress that it is impossible for me to take private practice, and so my entire living comes from the retainers given me by a leading Western railroad."

Now, Mr. President, Mr. Sewell was no such man as that. When he ran for the State senate first, and again and again, he was the leading railway officer and the representative of all the railroads in his State, and he made no concealment of the fact. On the contrary, while he did not run as such, he did assert, "I am as worthy of confidence, if as a man and a citizen you think me so, as you, gentlemen, who are engaged in any other pursuit, avocation, or profession." And that courage elected him. It reelected him. It made him the leader of his party in his State. It did more. It made his State, which has always been freer from baseless prejudice than most of our Commonwealths, choose him the leader of the delegation in six national conventions, where he was a great force in saying who should receive the nomination for the Presidency and Vice-presidency, what should be the declarations of the convention, when upon that nomination and platform depended the fortunes of the party to which he belonged.

When in public life he illustrated that he could be a railway man in his profession and a faithful public servant when intrusted by the people with office. To his initiative, to his skill as a business man, and to his lack of prejudice on all questions is due that legislation in the State of New Jersey by which taxation has been lifted, so far as State taxation is concerned, from the farm, from industries, and from labor, and placed upon corporations. He perfected that system so that from the corporation and not from the farm, not from industries, not from labor, comes in the State treasury of New Jersey to-day revenues which have relieved it of State debt, revenues which pay the whole of its State taxation, revenues which take care of its educational system, and revenues which seem as though they would ultimately wipe out local taxation.

Mr. President, Senator Sewell was in no sense a spectacular man. We who knew him best knew that he avoided crowds, he avoided applause, he never played to the gallery. He was always intent upon the one thing which he sought to accomplish. The motive power of his career was its directness, its courage, its outspokenness. When he started in the railway business he meant to be president of the railway, and he was; in finance he meant to get a fortune, and he secured it; in politics he meant to go as far as he could under the laws and the Constitution of the United States, and he did.

In this Senate his value was in the fact that he undertook nothing which he did not completely understand, and that which he did understand by the submission of the judgment of his associates to his greater judgment, backed up by his wonderful information and industry, became the law of the land.

He started to redeem the State of New Jersey from its rock-ribbed condition in the Democratic Party. It had been allied to that party ever since the time of Jefferson. In that State, which is peculiarly dominated by pride in its old families and neighborhood ties, there were traditions and legends of party associations most difficult for one not born within it to break; and Senator Sewell's success in the twenty years' struggle by which he turned that State over to his own party, and by which it looks as if it might be kept there, was due to qualities of leadership in which he differed from most of the political leaders of my time.

Political leaders, as I have known them—and I have known almost all of them in every State for forty years—are jealous of youth; they are afraid of young ambition; they hesitate to acknowledge the rising genius which appears in the different localities, and they frequently put a heavy hand on a young man who is marching ahead, according to their judgment, too rapidly, and may possibly interfere with or remove them from the seat of power. Senator Sewell never had any fear on that point. Wherever there was ambition in youth he encouraged it; wherever there was ability he recognized it; wherever a young man could be placed so that he could be most useful to the cause which Sewell loved, and which he believed ought to triumph, it never occurred to his brave and manly heart that that young man would be a rival of himself.

There is one race, Mr. President, which has contributed more, relatively to its numbers, to the Government of this world in modern times than any other. It bears a very small proportion to other races, almost an infinitesimal one. Wherever you go around the world, in seeing foreign countries, you come upon the colonies of the British Empire, and recognize that the sun in its course around the globe never sets upon the British flag. Wherever the situation is difficult, wherever government is almost impossible, wherever the climate is most deadly, wherever the population is nearer to barbarism and savagery, and therefore almost impossible to assimilate, there you find as a governor a member of the Scotch-Irish race. The Scotch-Irish race is a very small part of the inhabitants of the British Islands, but in the civil and military affairs of England they occupy more distinguished, more powerful, and more numerous positions than all other races combined.

That race has done much for the glory of the American Army and Navy. Though its members are so few in our 80,000,000 people, from it have come several Presidents of the United States, but it never gave to our public and our business life, and to our citizenship, a better example or a more useful service than when it contributed the grit, the pluck, the modest courage, the ability, and the indomitable ambition of Senator William J. Sewell.

MEMORIAL OF SENATOR M'MILLAN

ADDRESS ON THE RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF SENATOR JAMES M'MILLAN OF MICHIGAN, IN U.S. SENATE, JANUARY 30, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT: These memorial occasions are more than mere tributes to the memory of departed brethren. They give the opportunity to recall honorable and successful lives and to point to them as examples which are valuable to the States of those who have died and to the country. There is no better representation of every phase of American life, character and achievement than the Congress of the United States. In it are men who have forged to the front in the strenuous battle which is upon us everywhere and have so impressed their fellow-citizens as to be selected to make their laws and manage their Government. No student of the Congressional Directory, through the years of our existence as a government, can but feel inspired with hope and ambition. It is a dictionary of success mainly from the humblest beginnings. It is a record of those who have honored that much-abused phrase "self-made men."

During most of the formulative and revolutionary period of our history lawyers have commanded legislative positions. The people believed that the education and training necessary for admission to the Bar and the familiarity with the laws which are requisite for the practice of the profession especially fitted lawyers to be legislators. It is only within recent years that business has become the leading profession of our country. It is business interests which are most likely to be affected favorably or otherwise by legislation. Until almost a decade ago the more active a man was in industries the less interest he took in politics. I remember a great merchant of New York who voiced the sentiments of his associates when he said that he crossed off his credit book "any customer who was in politics or aspired to or held office." For a period it was fatal to the aspirations of a young man entering upon a business career to have applied to him what was then the opprobrious name of "politician." When a young legislator in our State Legislature, I was at a

meeting of those merchants and financiers who controlled the business of the metropolis. They had members of the Legislature as guests in order to present to them their views upon pending legislation, which, if enacted, would have inflicted serious damage upon the city. We discovered that none of them ever voted except at presidential elections. None of them took any part in the preliminary work which controls parties and selects their representatives. I told them then, and have been more than ever convinced since of its truth, that people who take no part in politics have no right to complain of what politicians do for them; that if they suffer, it is their just punishment for the neglect of the highest duty of citizenship. Now, however, that condition has happily changed. Business men find that if they would keep prosperity for themselves and for the country they must take an active and intelligent interest in public matters.

Senator McMillan was the leading business man of his State and among the foremost of its successful men of affairs. He was never satisfied with occasionally voting and continually complaining and criticising, but he found time, as every man can, for a beneficent interest in local, State and national matters. He demonstrated that the manager of a great business, without neglecting the welfare of his associates, can serve his city or his town if it requires his experience or his brains, or his party as chairman of its State committee, by bringing to that organization in that capacity the faculties which have placed him at the front in the creation of enterprises and the management of affairs. Senator McMillan was entitled, if anybody, to that appellation with which we are becoming gradually familiar, a "captain of industry." Great as has been the progress and development of the United States, materially, financially and industrially, fortunately public sentiment has kept pace with its growth.

A Senator of national reputation said a quarter of a century ago that there is nothing so dangerous to the public welfare as a million of dollars unless it be two. This declaration received universal applause. But we have learned to draw the line between money which is active in the creation of new industries, in enlarging the scope of old ones, in developing resources and opening new territories for settlement, and that baser and sordid use of accumulations which benefits, if it does benefit, only its selfish possessor. If a million dollars will give employment to 500 men,

two millions will require the services of a thousand. A billion-dollar company places upon its pay roll 125,000 men, and as part of its success, by concentration and reduction of cost, adds 25 per cent. in wages to the 25 per cent. more employed than under former conditions. The railway whose capital enabled it to build a hundred miles gives work upon its single track and limited facilities to a mere fraction of those who are required when it extends a thousand miles, with the equipment, which both attracts increasing traffic and stimulates it.

Here we have in the career of our friend a concrete object lesson of this process of beneficial development. Coming as a very young man from Canada to Detroit, he starts in employment as every American boy does, and then as he masters the business arrives at partnership and control. The shop becomes a factory, the factory expands from the product of one article to many. The ramifications of the business extend beyond the city, through the State, and from the State all over the country. The employment runs from one to ten, from ten to a hundred, from a hundred to several thousands. At each advance there is a betterment of every condition, both for the business and for those in every capacity who are connected with it. But these happy results are not limited to those immediately connected with the manufactory. The city, State and country share proportionately in the stimulation given to production, consumption and employment. The city soon recognizes and utilizes that faculty for organization and administration which had accomplished this result. His party demanded a service which was conspicuously performed in the leadership in Michigan in several presidential campaigns. Then the State asked of him for the Commonwealth of Michigan this talent for its representative in the United States Senate. For thirteen years he sat here as Senator of that great State. At the time of his death he had just been returned for six years more. He was not an orator; he had not the gift of speech, but in labor and in counsel there was no more valuable member in this body. Business in its highest sense, that business which means prosperity to the country, the employment of capital and labor, activities of every kind which enlarge old avenues and open new, found in him here one of its most efficient representatives. He was for years at the head of the Committee on the District of Columbia. The capital as we have it to-day, with its parks, its avenues, its water,

its public buildings, its transportation facilities and all that makes it the finest example of an American city, owes much of its beauty, its comfort and its development to the wise administration of Senator McMillan.

In all ages the question has constantly recurred, In what manner, if the choice were left to us, would we prefer to die? The prayers in most churches all over the world offer on every Sabbath day the petition to preserve us from sudden death. That is based upon the theological dogma that the sins of a lifetime can be forgiven and salvation secured by a death-bed repentance. Without desiring any controversy, I can not help believing that in the bookkeeping of heaven there is a debit and credit account which can only be balanced by works as well as faith, by deeds as well as professions. So I count most happy those who escape the agonizing scenes, so often recurring and so painful at death, of parting with those we love. Here we have a friend who in every position in life did his duty according to his best lights as a father, a husband and a citizen, a man and a Senator. He so lived during the time allotted to him by God that when in a moment he was called to join the majority, he left behind him nothing but praise and had before him the certainty of reward.

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM BUFFALO, SEPTEMBER 15, 1901, AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT MC KINLEY.

I FOUND that the whole population, visiting and resident, was horrified by the revulsion of feeling from the absolute confidence of the day before to the doubt caused by the relapse. I went several times to the Milburn house. At 4 o'clock, although the report came that the President had rallied, the committee of railroad men with whom I had been consulting decided to postpone the exercises for Railroad Day. On my visit to the Milburn house I found no especial alarm. What was apparently an extreme attack of indigestion was considered to have been relieved. Later in the day almost the old hopefulness had its sway. Upon an evening visit, however, I found the gloom of a death chamber. I met Senator Hanna, who was quite unnerved, and he told me that the President was dead.

I was among the men who were near Lincoln when he died and was by, also, when Garfield died. Those about Lincoln were in a wild rage for revenge. Garfield was so short a time President that beyond the general horror and sympathy there were no evidences of deep feeling. At the Milburn house on Friday night a stranger would have said that the Cabinet officers, the judges, the Senators, and the distinguished men who were associated with President McKinley were members of his family and were feeling in his death the loss of a most cherished member. The poignancy of the grief manifested was extraordinary and showed what a tremendous hold the President had on those who came in contact with him.

Secretary Root is not an emotional man. His severe training at the Bar has taught him to curb his feelings and given him a marvelous control over his emotions, but at the inauguration of Roosevelt in an effort to make a simple announcement that the Cabinet desired the Vice-president to at once assume the Presidency Mr. Root's battle to prevent himself giving external evidence of grief intensified by its failure the broken sentences he

uttered. I have witnessed most of the world's pageants in my time, where fleets and armies, music and cannon, wonderful ceremonials and costumes enchanted the onlookers and fired the imagination, but that all seems to me in recollection tawdry and insignificant in the presence of that little company in the library of the Wilcox house in Buffalo. It was apparently a gathering of professional and business Americans, coming hastily from their vocations to the meeting.

There was an interregnum of a few hours in the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. The long silence in the library, which had become painful, was broken by a few scarcely audible words of the Secretary of War. A brief pause and then the emphatic announcement by the Vice-president of the continuance of the policy of McKinley for the peace, progress, and honor of our beloved country lifted every one out of despair. Roosevelt, with his youth and his magnificent, athletic personality, and the terrible earnestness of his little speech, seemed to personify the indomitable vigor of that American conquest and industrial and commercial evolution, and its continuance, of which McKinley, in the public mind, was largely the creator and wholly the representative. In repeating the words of the Judge administering the oath, Roosevelt extended his hand over his head to the full length of his arm. He closely followed each sentence, and his ending seemed almost as if it was a salvo of artillery: "And so I swear."

That little company had only a few minutes before left the house of the murdered President, and now they were extending congratulations to his successor who had assumed the greatest office which man can hold, and had become Chief Magistrate of the most powerful country in the world.

It is singular that in the United States, possessing the freest government the world has ever known, all its Presidents, with the exception of Washington, having come from the humbler conditions, in thirty-six years three of its chief magistrates should have been assassinated. Autocratic Russia is a hotbed of conspiracy against the Czars, yet only one ruler in Russia has been murdered in the period covering the life of the American Republic. The six hundred years of the Hapsburg house and nearly as many of the Hohenzollern dynasty have been free from the tragedy of assassination. Only one member of the house of

Savoy, King Humbert, fell under the assassin's hand. The English throne has been free from these crimes for one thousand years. In France in thirty years one of her presidents has been assassinated; with the exception of Henry IV, none of her kings or emperors. The immunity of rulers of Continental Europe is ascribed to the care of guards. There are no special precautions surrounding the movements and residence of the English sovereign.

The murder of Lincoln was not the act of an anarchist and was as deeply regretted by the South, whose wrongs Booth thought he was avenging, as by the North. Had Lincoln lived, the reconstruction of the South on lines satisfactory to its intelligence would have come much sooner. The assassination of a ruler has always defeated the purpose of the attack by intensifying the power of the Government assailed. The assassination of Garfield was the crime of an addle-brained egotist seeking notoriety, without accomplices or sympathizers. And yet we can trace Guiteau's crime to the intense passions of factional strife of the period.

President McKinley was the most beloved of our Presidents. Beyond any of them he possessed the affection of the whole American people. Parties and partisanship had ceased to have any enmity toward him personally. He was not only the best friend of the workingman and the wage-earner who ever filled the place of ruler of a great country, but they all knew it and so regarded him. Notwithstanding these facts, this most popular of Presidents fell a victim to a conspiracy. His death was brought about as a result of teachings of a political school which, so far as they dare, approve and applaud the crime.

The conditions which give comparative safety to European rulers and make the position of President of the United States the most hazardous place in the world, must be considered in the protection to be given in the future to our Presidents. All continental governments by concert of action among the police of the several countries locate, identify and exchange descriptions of anarchists and anarchist groups. To arrest them on the slightest pretext you must in various ways endeavor to make life unbearable for them. The Reds have in the main fled from these countries to find asylums only in Great Britain and the United States. They work a vigorous propaganda through their publications for

use on this continent. The Scotland Yard police hold the London anarchists under constant surveillance. The anarchist leaders in Russia are all foreigners, as with us, with the exception of one or two. The leaders in Great Britain order that no outrages be committed there. They know that an attempt on the life of the sovereign would lead to the expulsion of them all.

The Reds have discovered that in the United States there is such absolute freedom that there is no law, Federal or State, under which anything worse can happen than brief imprisonment if unsuccessful, and execution only if successful, to the member of their society upon whom the lot falls to assassinate a President, a Governor, a judge, or a policeman. The chief tenets of the anarchist organization being revolution of society by killing those who now carry out its laws, how can we protect our President and have him as safe from these assaults as European sovereigns? There is no analogy between a President who temporarily represents the people and executes their will and the hereditary rulers of Europe, but the anarchists make no distinction.

In the first place, President Loubet of the French Republic does not attend public meetings, speak from the platform of railway cars, move around in an approachable and conspicuous way at fairs and expositions, nor hold open levees for the shaking of hands. Whenever he appears he is guarded by secret police. They know his route and, themselves inconspicuous, keep a constant watch on the President and those near him. Our Presidents are in the habit of shaking hands with everybody who wishes, wherever they have temporarily stopped or have been staying. Can we afford, when the life of the President is so important to every interest in the country, to have him continue this ceremony without restriction or limitation? The American people number 77,000,000. It would be almost impossible for a President in his four years in office to shake hands with 50,000 persons. Considering that some one person in this insignificant proportion of our people might precipitate a tragedy that would plunge the whole country into grief and disturb commercial and industrial conditions, the question arises, Can we afford to continue to imperil our Presidents? Our Presidents, notwithstanding the danger, must continue to travel and meet the people as heretofore with certain precautions and with changes in the functions which have been characterized as presidential receptions.

We must begin at the fountain head and stop the reservoirs of European anarchy pouring into our country. Such certification of immigrants must be had as will establish a proper environment and association abroad before they pass our immigrant inspectors. Supplementing this, there should be under proper safeguards the power lodged somewhere to expel known enemies of our laws and country. Legislation should also be adopted by the Federal Government and all States that will make attempts upon the life of the President, which fail out of the category of mere assaults, and make such crimes adequately punished.

STATUE OF HENRY B. HYDE

SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF HENRY B. HYDE, AT THE EQUITABLE LIFE BUILDING, NEW YORK, MAY 2, 1901.

My Friends: The springs of human action are necessity or ambition. Necessity in numberless instances has aroused dormant faculties and produced the power to forecast events, to discriminate in enterprises, to originate industrial successes, and to accumulate large fortunes. Ambition seeks fame with the pen, with the sword, or in statecraft. Our complex civilization, caused by invention and discovery and the numberless increases of human wants, has created a combination of necessity and ambition. When these are united there exists in the highest form selfish personal motives and also the impersonal purpose of benefiting mankind. This duplex talent endeavors in a lifetime to organize an educational institution equal to those which are the creation of the ages. It interests capital for the building and endowment of hospitals or asylums for special purposes; it unites and harmonizes independent systems of transportation which crystallize into a workable unit of great public benefit; or it tries to found an institution which will work actively and untiringly for the promotion of human welfare and happiness. The best type of this class, and the one whose name is most likely to survive, is Henry B. Hyde. It was my privilege recently to deliver at Washington the address at the unveiling of the statue of a distinguished soldier and statesman. Congress had voted the money for the memorial and the occasion was honored by the presence of the President and his Cabinet and the chiefs of the Army and Navy of the United States. It was a distinction and honor to the memory of a soldier and statesman eminently deserved, and yet our country has been singularly rich in soldiers and statesmen. Almost every square of the Capitol holds and cherishes the bronze figure of a man who has done so much for his country that a grateful people wish to keep him in this way in lasting remembrance.

There have been different inspirations for the youth at distinct

periods of American history. The Revolution produced statesmen of creative genius like Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, the Adamses, Roger Sherman, and their compatriots. For fifty years young men who had the energy and ability to rise studied the lessons in the careers of these revolutionary worthies. Then ideals changed to men of eloquence at the Bar and in the Senate—to men who could interpret the spirit of our institutions and give it lasting form in measures for the expansion and growth of the country, and these ideals were long personified in the triumvirate of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. The Civil War developed the fighting passions of our race and there came to the front an extraordinary number of soldiers with rare capacity for command, both in the regular and volunteer army. Since the Civil War the onrush of material prosperity has swept the ingenuous youth of the country from the farms, the apprentices' benches and the colleges into the vortex of business activities, speculations and accumulation, and made a million dollars the mark and more millions the ambition of the boys of our land. At the time when this passion was succeeding the wave of patriotism and willingness to die for one's country, Henry B. Hyde, a clerk in the Mutual Life Insurance Company, resolved to make the definite purpose of his life the formation and building up of a life assurance association which should lead all others in its financial responsibilities and the rapidity and solidity of its growth. All those faculties which make mammoth fortunes—foresight and courage—the magnetism which compels capitalists to listen and invest and the initiative and originality which use wealth as it accumulates for greater and still greater ventures and triumphs, were possessed by Mr. Hyde in an eminent degree. Had he entered the race for riches then opening, he would have been at his death in the front rank of those whose possessions made in a single life are the marvel of our time. But he had a broader view from which he never turned from the commencement to the close. He started with an institution on the same basis and with the same opportunities as two score of others which began at the same time, and all but three of them went into bankruptcy. The company opened its offices with a small amount of stationery purchased with the limited means of the promoter. Though his acquaintance was not large, he succeeded in bringing into the directory a body of strong men. Policies of a thousand dollars

taken out by each director and a hundred thousand dollars deposited in Albany as security was the commencement of the business of the Equitable Life Assurance Company. Trials of competition, trials of the usual periods of discouragement, trials of losses greater than gains, trials of financial situations well nigh hopeless, trials of the disastrous panics of the last half century, trials of the sudden changes in investment value caused by revolutions of our industrial system came to his company, as they did ruinously to most of his rivals, to be triumphantly surmounted by his genius. He gathered about him, as did Napoleon in war, a body of agents whom he inspired with his own indomitable purpose, resistless will and magnificent hopefulness to go out into the country, educate the people to the value of the security there is in life insurance and to persuade them that though other companies might be greater, stronger and have vaster accumulations, their safety was in the Equitable.

At the end of forty years, when, exhausted with his labors, Henry B. Hyde was called to his rest and reward, he left behind this wonderful monument. His thirty policy holders had grown to 374,000, his $30,000 of outstanding insurance had increased to $1,117,000,000. He had paid out to policy holders in death losses and maturing endowments $190,000,000, and the company, from $100,000 of capital and reserve, had on hand $305,000,000, of which $60,000,000 is surplus for the security of those who confided in it. That $305,000,000 might easily have been the sum left by Mr. Hyde to his children had he applied the same energy and genius to his private fortune that he gave to the company which he loved so well and for which he worked with his whole heart and soul and mind. I know of no more startling contrast than this $305,000,000 if devised to a single family with all the possibilities of its use or misuse in the succeeding generations, and that sum held in trust by a company managed by able and competent trustees to keep from want hundreds of thousands of families when the bread-winner is gone, and to educate and place in paths of usefulness hundreds of thousands of orphaned or half-orphaned children.

The growth and expansion and usefulness of this beneficent institution does not stop with the death of its founder. He builded for all time. His spirit and purpose live in and are the motive power of the Equitable Company. Like all truly great

men and strong executive officers, he did not fear to have able associates. He sought everywhere the best available talent and used every inducement to secure it for every department of his service. It is the weakness of most corporations that their managers fear to be eclipsed by able and ambitious subordinates, but, as Napoleon selected for his marshals soldiers as near his own standard as possible, so Mr. Hyde brought from every walk in life those who impressed him because of their success and the possession of talent which might be used to advance the interests of his company. These men as officers and directors, continuing through time to fill the vacancies by selections of their kind, will keep the Equitable marching on. It is no wild prediction that on one hand it may become in the future the most powerful financial institution in the world, and on the other its security, perpetuity and growth may attract so many that its enlarging beneficence will reach and protect constantly increasing thousands upon thousands of people, not only in the United States but in almost every country in the world.

Time obliterates from current thought and recollection the statesmen, the soldiers and the great fortunes of preceding generations, but as the Equitable rounds up each of its cycles for centuries to come it will celebrate the name and achievements of its founder.

The Equitable Life Insurance Company to-day places in the vestibule of this great building which houses its transactions the statue of its founder. I know of no form of human achievement equal to the creation, continuance and development of this company for keeping alive forever the name and work of any man. Succeeding generations who are increasing beneficiaries will hold in grateful remembrance Henry B. Hyde.

ADDRESS TO NEW YORK FARMERS

SPEECH BEFORE THE "NEW YORK FARMERS' CLUB," AT THE HOTEL BRUNSWICK, DECEMBER 15, 1887. SUBJECT: "FRUITS SUCH AS FARMERS GROW."

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am glad that at last you want a practical discussion of this question. We have heard to-night of the beneficial effects of fruit-eating—that we knew about before—but what we are here for is fruit-raising, and on that subject I am an expert. I thought when you spoke about rhetorical pyrotechnics that you referred to my friend Cannon. I have heard him go into pyrotechnics of a rhetorical sort which surpassed anything I ever listened to in the Senate or out of it; and, if you had started to-night the question of the protection of home industry in connection with the recent extraordinary screed of the President of the United States and had called him to his feet, you would have, perhaps, learned how to raise fruit—certainly, if you had not learned how to raise fruit, you would have found out how to raise—sheol.

I came here for the purpose of finding out how to do something with my farm up at Peekskill, on which for the several hundred years we have owned it, we have grown rocks mainly, and the personal property of the family has not been improved by the product. I asked an ancestor of mine, my grandfather, what he kept the farm for, and he said: "Some time or other they will need stone piers in New York; by that time, you will be the owner of this farm and then you will be the richest man in this country." But since they have begun to manufacture and use the artificial stone of which they make piers, they have ruined that dream of my grandfather's and have driven me to become a member of this society at an expense of forty dollars a year, to find out how I could improve that estate. I came here to-night, and by eating and drinking this dinner have secured a digestion which only fruit can remedy, if Dr. Barry is right—for the purpose of discovering whether there is anything in the line of fruit-raising which would add something to the patrimonial income. The

income of the farm, I would state, since I have known it, has been principally taxes, and they have been regular and steady—never affected by the drought—indeed the only thing that has ever impaired them has been hard times, which have postponed their collection.

I was West recently—in that region where I was met and overcome by the St. Louis interviewer. I went there with the idea that the only solid foundation of wealth anywhere in this country was farming, so I delicately insinuated as I rode through the places and stopped at the stations that I was a member of the New York Farmers' Club. One man asked me if farming in New York City consisted in cutting off "cow-pons." I told him no, but I would like to know how farming succeeded in his neighborhood, as I had understood that all a man needed in order to prosper was a homestead of 160 acres, and then, growing wheat at fifty-five cents a bushel, he sent it forth to feed the starving millions of Europe, and soon became a millionaire. He sat down and figured up to me what he got out of it. He ciphered just how much the seed cost him; then how much his own labor amounted to, with that of his hired man; then the feed of his team; then how much he paid for the steam thresher; then the amount of railroad freights and elevator expenses, and when he got the crop to market, he had a mortgage on his farm. I did not know if his figures were correct, but I found that many people in that country had changed their occupation and gone from agriculture into raising corner lots, and that this was a most phenomenally productive industry.

Among other places, I went to a city which five years ago had two thousand inhabitants; to-day it has forty thousand. Every citizen seemed rich. They told me, "This man is worth half a million, that man a million, that man a million and a half, that man two millions," and it grew somewhat monotonous, and I said: "What do you call a poor man here, if you have any such person?" and my informant replied: "A man who is young and in excellent health and has one hundred thousand dollars has a fair start with us." They pointed out to me lots along the principal streets which they were selling at four thousand dollars a front foot, without any buildings on them. One of the leading citizens hired a tug and sailed with me in front of the town, because the mud was so deep you could not drive through the

streets. I said to him, as I looked over the unbroken forest extending to the pole: "I see everything here except a graveyard. Have you a cemetery? or is the land so valuable that you bury your relatives in the lake?" My friend pointed to some white stones in the distance and said: "That is our cemetery, but it is getting too valuable for such a purpose and we have got to take them up and plant them over the hill. That, however, is not an unmixed evil, for my lot is on the corner of the avenue which is an extension of our principal street, and of course it will become an exceedingly valuable property. It necessitates the removal of my wife—but, poor dear girl, she won't mind it, because in her lifetime she was immensely interested in the growth of the town."

Now, this fruit-raising is a most interesting subject. I was afraid when the evening started with that extraordinary but charming address of our President, that the discussion might degenerate into subjects which would not meet the entire approval of Mr. Comstock. He spoke in a familiar way of Venus and other lovely but dangerous divinities of the ancients, and showed an acquaintance with them which none of the rest of us enjoy. But when Mr. Barry came on with his paper, we were safely launched into the subject of the evening. There is nothing in the recollections of a man who was brought up in the country which equals those suggested by the orchard. All the poetic romancings about meadows and fields only suggest the stone boat, the plow, the rake, the harrow, and the scythe, and everything which recalls hard work. But the real, solid enjoyment of country life for a boy who was born there always centers about the apple tree. Under it were gathered all the pleasures of existence in his early life, as he recalls them in memory and reminiscence. There is not a man about this table but can remember the time when he could sit down in the orchard with half a dozen other boys and eat his hatful of apples, and everyone here would give all he is worth to be able to do it again.

New York is the greatest State of the commonwealths which form our Union. Mr. Barry is right about that, but Rochester, though a most charming city, is not, as he thinks, all there is of the State. He has tried hard to convey the impression that you only can raise fruits fit to eat and which will bring good prices in or about the Flour City. But then he is interested in Rochester real estate, and we are not. The fruit he praises is grown at

Ellwanger and Barry's, which is a most admirable place, and it is difficult anywhere in the country to compete with them, but down in Westchester, our local pride compels us to claim that we have just as good fruits, though we don't get as much for them, because they are not so well advertised. But friend Barry, with all his eloquence, never can get us farmers to abandon champagne and drink Barry's cider. He has tried to talk it up here to-night, but it won't go down. This is not like the societies he is accustomed to address, where they adopt the speaker's views and buy his wares. We understand the business; some of us are in it ourselves.

In New England, when I was a student at New Haven, they distilled a cider, a very peculiar beverage. You wanted a guardian appointed after you had drunk some of it, and it was at that time up in Connecticut a test of orthodoxy. If a man did not murder any of his family or friends after imbibing it, the vitalizing and resisting power of grace and education was recognized, and he became an elder in the church and the general executor for all the estates in the town; and if he did kill anyone he was acquitted on the plea of emotional insanity.

A characteristic colonial clerical New England story was told me by a very eminent divine, who traced his ancestry back to Jonathan Edwards. He said that, after a congregational convention, the deacons gathered about were discussing, as they always do on such occasions, the merits of their respective clergymen, and one good deacon described his as a preacher who could state the doctrines of the Church better than any other man; another deacon his, as one who was best in describing the beauties of a Christian life; another his, as one who could bring out the sentiment and poetry of the Old Testament, until finally a venerable deacon said: "Well, our clergyman cannot do any of these things as well as you have described. We don't pay him any salary; he owns a large farm and has got to get his living from it and preach for us for nothing; but he is mighty moving in prayer in curculio and caterpillar time."

I was interested, as anyone must be who has visited England, in the question asked by our friend, Captain Lloyd, but I think it answers itself for an American who has been on the other side of the Atlantic in the peach season. When I was there this summer, mine host had upon his table magnificent peaches which had cost him fifty cents apiece. They had been grown upon the

side of a wall and mostly under glass; they had a white pit and little flavor. I said to him: "Peaches which would make your mouth water and tears of joy run down your cheeks are to-day piled almost mountain high on barges beside the wharves in New York and selling for fifty cents a basket, and with two hundred peaches in each basket." "Well," said he, "you Americans have always been remarkable for the stories you tell."

This society, if it accomplishes nothing else, does this at least —we gather these experts from all parts of this country and the world, and we publish a volume at the close of the year which takes precedence of all the agricultural reports of the United States. The Commissioner of Agriculture told me, when I was last in Washington, that the only chance he had of having the Commissionership of Agriculture made a Cabinet office was by distributing these volumes containing the transactions of our society among the members of the Senate and House of Representatives. He said that he had given a volume to several of the leading members of both houses and they had incidentally said: "If such things as this can be done in an agricultural city like New York, what might not be accomplished if agriculture had a Cabinet position in the Government of this country?"

As a railroad man, I am interested in the culture and growth of fruits and cereals. I want agriculture to prosper for the interest of the country at large, and because we get our best business from the farms. The larger part of the traffic which makes business for the railroads comes from the land. These gentlemen about me who mine, think they do much for railroads, but we are obliged to carry their ores for next to nothing, and we buy rails of them, they say, for less than it costs to produce them, and in that way they benefit us and we foster the iron industry. The farmer, too, gets the best of us every time. He controls the Legislature and taxes our roads and adjusts our relations to the public about as he pleases, and we are popular largely in proportion as he makes money and we lose it, and so, as dividends get low and produce high, the country grows in harmony with railroad men and they are no longer regarded as tyrants, usurpers, and oppressors of their kind. If the time ever comes when the farm and the railroad are brought into really universally harmonious relations, then a raiload man can run for President of the United States.

ADDRESS TO NEW YORK FARMERS

SPEECH BEFORE THE "NEW YORK FARMERS' CLUB," AT THE HOTEL BRUNSWICK, DECEMBER 19, 1889. SUBJECT: "COUNTRY ROADS."

I AM always glad to be called upon by my friend, the President, at these meetings of the Farmers' Club, because every subject that arises here is the one subject that I know less about than any other upon which I have any information whatever.

There is a lesson, coming down from the patriotic period, which might be usefully adopted by all the gentlemen about this table, and that is the well-known fact that Washington, after retiring from the office of President of the United States, became a roadmaster of his district. The good roads about Mount Vernon were due to the same efficiency which had led the army of the nation to success in the Revolutionary War, and had aided in founding the American Republic. It is also well known that Thomas Jefferson, after he retired to Monticello, finding the roads all about that country simply impassable, served for ten years as roadmaster of the district. The same is true of Martin Van Buren, and the same is true of almost all the great statesmen of the country when they retired from public life and went to their country seats. All of which establishes the fact that the highest and most honorable position that any man can hold in this country is that of roadmaster of his neighborhood.

It seems to me Mr. Bronson has touched the real source of good roads, so long as the State does not appreciate what is its proper duty; and that is, that each gentleman who has his estate in the country shall set an example. It may cost him somewhat more than his legitimate tax; but it will cost him infinitely less in reputation, and he will gain infinitely more in the satisfaction and gratification which he and his family and his guests will feel in the good roads over which they will drive about the country, or to and from the station.

The most valuable paper, in my judgment, that has ever been read before this association during the five or six years in which

I have been a member, is that of Professor Trowbridge. It touches not only upon the subject of the gentlemen who have country seats, but also upon a very much deeper question; and that is, the prosperity of the country and the proper relations of agriculture, when prosperous, to the general prosperity of the Republic. Our magazines are just now full of articles trying to show why agriculture is declining; why farms do not pay; why farmers' sons go to the towns; and why, as was contended in a recent discussion of the subject, the farmers, who have heretofore been the backbone of the country, and the conservative element which has kept us from communism and anarchism, because they voted on the side of property, are to become hereafter tenants and peasants. Everyone at this table will admit that when the vast agricultural element of this country becomes simply tenants and peasants, then the great vested interests, which yield incomes and make wealth possible and life enjoyable, are in danger. It is the independent property-owning interest in this country, however small, which furnishes the conservation of all other property, however large.

It seems to me Professor Trowbridge has struck the real keynote of agricultural prosperity in touching upon what we all know to be, in a larger sense, the real prosperity of the country, the cost of transportation. Everybody knows that any district, new or old, depends for its prosperity first upon facility of transportation, and, secondly, upon cost of transportation. If facility of transportation is not provided, that region remains a wilderness. If the cost of transportation becomes excessive, that region becomes a wilderness. So far as railroads are concerned, the natural laws of competition—whatever may have been the effects of over-capitalization, or of building roads where they never should have been built—have reduced the cost of transportation to a point where all districts that are in immediate and easy contact with a railroad are prosperous. But a factory beyond reach of the railway station is impossible, and a farm beyond reach of a railway station is abandoned.

Professor Trowbridge has hit the nail on the head in saying that they are abandoned because the cost of transportation from the farm to the railway makes the profitable raising of farm products absolutely impossible.

It therefore seems to me to be the present duty of this associa-

tion of farmers to put their influence behind that paper of Professor Trowbridge, and to urge the Legislature of our own State of New York, to begin with, to take up this subject in a broad and statesmanlike way, and utilize the surplus in the treasury, utilize the immense resources of the State (which are now hardly touched) in carrying out a proper system of internal improvements, which shall include such a liberal policy toward the highways of the State, that they will not only be comfortable to ride upon, but will promote and continue the prosperity which will make the State of New York the Empire State of the country.

ADDRESS TO NEW YORK FARMERS

SPEECH BEFORE THE "NEW YORK FARMERS' CLUB," AT SHERRY'S, JANUARY 19, 1892. SUBJECT: "ARBORICULTURE."

I HAVE been overwhelmed to-night with the volume of technical information. There have been more expert professors at this meeting than at any I have attended. Heretofore we have had pure theorists, who have read papers upon things which they have never practiced, and, as practical farmers, we have been led to criticise their suggestions. They did not in all cases tally with the results of our own experience. But to-night we are amazed, overwhelmed, instructed, carried away, filled fuller than we can digest, with the individual experience of gentlemen who have tried arboriculture practically, and apparently unsuccessfully, all over the United States.

I have always had a profounder admiration for Mr. Dana than for any other living American—as a journalist, as a literary man, as an orator, as a political economist, as a statesman. As a farmer I thought he devoted himself entirely to chickens; but when he hurled at us to-night these unused and unaccustomed Latin derivations, indicating an intimate knowledge, from the scientific standpoint, of the different trees, I felt how little I had appreciated the accomplishments of my fellow members. It seems there is really no limit to Mr. Dana's acquirements. My judgment is that without any literary assistance he could himself publish an encyclopædia. All he would have to do would be to take his own experience, his own knowledge, his own observations, and he would give us something very much shorter and better than "The Encyclopædia Britannica," either American or English edition.

We have had developed here a very remarkable illustration of the varieties and capacities of this extraordinary country of ours. It has been demonstrated that we call upon Japan, upon Norway, upon Sweden, upon all parts of the world, to contribute to our arboriculture; and the contribution as a rule is of very little effect. It has been demonstrated that there are certain trees

which will grow in almost any part of the Temperate Zone except one, and that is, that which grows on the south side of Long Island will not grow on the north side. That condition exists nowhere else in this country; I think nowhere else in the world within the same distance.

I have had my attention called to this matter in a practical way. You know we Westchester men are not theorists. We are simple, practical farmers. We have recollections going down through an ancestry which did not experiment, but adopted the results obtained by their ancestors. Occasionally a Yankee would project himself into our community, who would mislead our people into trying experiments. I remember the first effort of that kind was when a dentist came to our town of Peekskill, who, after practicing upon the molars of the inhabitants, suggested to them in the moment of excruciating agony that they could improve the beauty of the place by planting ailantus trees. The result was that Peekskill was lined with ailantus trees. After ten years the drug-stores found their largest custom consisted in the sale of different perfumes which would counteract the extraordinary odors produced by the ailantus. Then someone said the ailantus trees were unhealthy, and they were all cut down. Then along came another professor, who asserted that the proper way to adorn a door-yard and a lawn—in Peekskill every house has a door-yard and lawn, and in my youth they were pretty large ones—was to have shade—shade was health as well as beauty. So we planted elms and maples all around our places; and when I was preparing for college there was no house within a radius of twenty miles of Peekskill that did not have trees planted so close that no ray of sunlight ever entered; and the first thing the proprietor did when anyone came along was to point to his shade. Then the philosopher appeared who said that shade produced malaria, and malaria produced all the diseases flesh is heir to. Then the axe came along and cut all the trees off; and blue glass was inserted in the windows. This state of things has prevailed all along the Hudson, not only with the man who never left his environment, but with the New York gentlemen who had come up and bought places all along the heights of Irvington.

About ten years ago there traveled up the Hudson River a man who had no particular reputation, who seemed to belong to

no special society, who was the apostle of no particular university, but whose mission seemed to be to produce beauty in towns. He charged no price, and he always had large audiences, because there was no admission fee to the village hall. He talked to the neighborhood upon the necessity, from a purely practical standpoint, of planting different trees along the roadsides, and in that way so adding to the beauty of the town that it would attract visitors and increase the price of real estate. The result of his visit is visible everywhere from Dobbs Ferry to Rhinebeck. He did not go on the other side of the river, but went up on our side. You can see the result of his visit all over the plateau at Garrison. One of the first who attended his lecture at Cold Spring was Sloan; and since then Sloan, without knowing one tree from another, has been planting them miscellaneously. Hamilton Fish and Edwards Pierrepont, and all of those gentlemen along there, have been doing the same thing. The result has been most interesting in a picturesque way; most charming in the landscape development, and most satisfactory in the impression it produced upon the visitor, who would say, "Why, here are people who must have studied this question of arboriculture to produce these superb results," and who would never be undeceived until he asked the owner as to the different trees and their characteristics.

After all, nature does quite as much as anything else. I had the pleasure during the fall of visiting our friend, Colonel Cannon, at that superb place of his at Burlington. He drove me about the acres which he has left as far as possible in a natural state, and pointed with special pride at a forest of evergreens which concealed his house from the beautiful Lake Champlain. It is one of the finest effects I know of in landscape gardening anywhere in the United States; and yet Cannon is not entitled to the slightest credit for it except that he left nature entirely alone. He did not cut off the trees that he found there, but let them grow as he discovered them and as nature intended they should; clearing up only enough to have his lawn, his roads, his house, his garden, and his outbuildings. By the simple rule of devoting himself to the cultivation of Delaware and Hudson on the one hand and nature on the other, he has an estate which is one of the most beautiful in Vermont, and an income which enables him to support it without any anxiety.

There is a broader view of this question which Mr. Dana has

often developed, and I regret to say that the *Sun* is the only paper which does develop it, and that is the necessity of protecting the forests as they exist. I believe the State of New York should buy the Adirondacks. They should not be taken by tax title, and then have some of the officers discover defects in the title, and some speculator get the land by the payment of taxes and interest. There is a great preserve. It is the only one left in the State of New York, and the State should take the money which has come back to it from the General Government—one-half of that fund would do it—and buy the whole of the Adirondack forest and keep it as a perpetual resort for the recreation of our citizens, for camping, fishing, all those things which tend to promote health and virtue. In addition to that, it would enable us to preserve the water which is so absolutely necessary for our streams. The manner in which in this country we have squandered the patrimony with which God has endowed us, is one of the most extraordinary instances of fatuity ever exhibited. We take these great forests of Wisconsin and other Northwestern States and sell them for a small sum to speculators, who sell them to other speculators at so much stumpage; and without rhyme or reason, or regard for the necessities of the country above or below, we clear off whole thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of acres, and thousands and tens of thousands of square miles. The result is these extraordinary floods now so common in the great rivers of the West. I think if any statistician would apply his mind to the subject, he would discover that the actual damage to agricultural interests through the denudation of the farms by these floods is infinitely more than any product from the forests themselves. The difficulty is that while a dozen lumber kings have from $1,000,000 to $5,000,000 or $10,000,000, hundreds of thousands of farmers are injured in the present, and the country is injured for all time to come, because farm lands have been denuded of soil by the operation of these floods, which are the result of the destruction of the forests. It seems to me the time has come when organizations like this "Farmers'" Club should appeal to the intelligent and enlightened self-interest of the country, to so legislate, if necessary, that we may have a department of the Government for the care of this interest. If the Department of Agriculture is able to take care of the question, then let the power be conferred upon it for that purpose. If it is

not able to take care of the question, then let there be a Ministry of Forestry. A Minister of Forestry could do as much for the Government as our friend, Jerry Rusk, can by taking a scythe in his own hands and showing how a muscular statesman can mow the lawn in front of the Smithsonian Institution or by distributing seeds among the citizens of the United States.

QUADRI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

ARGUMENT IN BEHALF OF NEW YORK AS THE SITE OF THE QUADRI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE, JANUARY 11, 1890.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: The New York Delegation expresses its thanks to the Committee for according to it a hearing on a day when so many could attend. We are here to the number of over a hundred. Most of the delegates leave large business interests and pressing duties at home, and they fairly represent the activities and enterprise of New York City and State. The object of their visit is to impress upon you the claims of New York for the World's Fair in 1892.

Any American who visited the great Exhibition at Paris last summer was impressed with the fact that there was a great necessity upon the people of the United States in the near future to have one which would be equal, if not better. It was in all respects the most superb collection of the evidences of the development of different nations in their arts, industries and mechanical work which has ever been gathered. The nations of Continental Europe, of Asia, of Africa, of Great Britain and her dependencies round the globe, Mexico and the South American republics, in their buildings and in their exhibits presented superb illustrations of their products and skill.

The United States alone was utterly deficient in any adequate representation of its resources, its inventions, or its mechanical powers. The impression left upon the representatives of the different peoples of the earth was that America might have vast area, great population and free institutions, but that for commercial purposes, in the interchange of commodities which the world needed, or in supplying those which were required by its different markets, she was unequal to the competition with older nations. The main attraction of the American exhibit was petrified wood from Arizona. An English delegate, desiring to alleviate my mortification, said: "Your country's exhibit of petrified wood is unequaled in this Fair." The effect of this has been to do incal-

culable injury to our commercial future. The commissions appointed by the several governments and the merchants from all parts of the globe carried back to their people accounts of the products and manufactures which cannot fail to be enormously beneficial to the countries which were properly represented, and injurious to the United States. It will take a quarter of a century by the ordinary methods of trade to place the United States properly before the world.

The largest manufacturing nation is compelled in the most marked and the quickest way to exhibit its resources and skill. This can only be done by an international fair in the United States so comprehensive as to fitly present all that we have and all that we can do, and so broadly national and hospitable as to invite and secure the attendance of every other nation. So that at the threshold of this discussion we must dismiss the fallacy which has been urged by the advocates of St. Louis and Chicago, that this is a national and not an international fair. Unless international, there is no purpose in holding it. The marvelous development of transportation lines and methods of rapid communication within the United States has put into the possession of every market so intelligently the products and opportunities of every other market, that no purely national fair would either add to our information or to our prosperity.

It is in this sense of an international fair, held for the purpose of impressing upon the world the fact that we can supply the articles needed for its necessities and its luxuries, as well and as artistically made, and as cheaply sold as they can be purchased anywhere else, that New York becomes the only place where such an exhibition can be successfully held. All the visitors from abroad will come first to New York. If, in addition to the 3,000 miles of ocean travel, there is presented to them the further necessity of breaking bulk, and traveling with their goods a thousand miles into the interior, it would deter many of them from coming.

The experience and the expense of the carrying of goods and of persons among the older nations of the world is such as to make them dread great distances of land travel, carrying with them valuable and bulky goods. It has been urged that, because only 125,000 Americans visited the Fair at Paris, and possibly not more than 75,000 foreigners would visit the Fair in America,

they are not to be considered as an important element in the success of the undertaking.

But, while there will probably be 30,000,000 of visitors to the Exposition, whose gate money will pay its expenses, and whose presence will attract the merchant and the manufacturer and the artist to exhibit, the 100,000 foreigners who may be there will represent hundreds of millions of people, to whom they are to carry a favorable or an unfavorable report of the commercial opportunities of the United States. We have had recently in Washington two congresses, one the Pan-American, and the other the Maritime, which numbered less than one hundred delegates to each, and yet the one was the expression of the statesmanship and the commercial aspirations of Mexico and the South American republics, and the other represented authoritatively the position upon questions affecting the great highways of commerce upon the ocean, the opinions to be crystallized into international law, of all the maritime nations of the globe. So the commissioners from the various States, and the keen-eyed merchants who bring their wares, will carry back to every port which a steamer can enter, or where a flag can float, the story of the vast resources, of the wonderful inventions, of the unequaled mechanical skill, of the enormous surplus of manufactured products to be stimulated by opportunity, which the world wants and which America wants to sell.

No fair has ever been successful unless held in the metropolis of the nation which authorized the exhibition. When, freed from sectional ambitions or jealousies at home, we view with impartial eye the situation abroad, we all admit that exhibitions held for Great Britain at Liverpool or Manchester, for France at Lyons or Marseilles, for Italy at Florence or Naples, for Germany at Dresden or Leipzig, would be failures; while it has been demonstrated from past experience that exhibitions held at the metropolis of any country, like London or Paris, are successful in attracting all that there is of the country in which the city is located, as well as all the world besides.

I saw two years ago an attempted Universal Exposition at Liverpool, which, though excellent in every way, attracted little attention even in Great Britain; while two local exhibitions, held within the past three years in London, one called "The Healtheries" and the other called "The Italian," were almost equal to

the French Fair of last summer in attendance, in value and variety of exhibits and in results. This was due to the great resident population within cheap and quick transit, and the vast number of strangers always present in London and who made part of the daily crowds at the fairs.

No one will dispute that New York is the metropolis of this continent. Its population, its resources, the representative character of its business, the fact that three-fourths of the imports of the country come to its harbor, all make it such.

There is not a cotton or woolen mill, a furnace, forge or factory, a mine at work or projected in the United States, which does not have its principal office in the city of New York. There is no project of any kind, whether to build a railroad, to bring agricultural territory into settlement and market, to develop the resources of the New South, to open iron or coal veins in Virginia, Tennessee or Alabama, which does not pass all other places and come to New York. If it is unsuccessful there, it goes nowhere else. The conventions of all the trades, which are annually held for mutual benefit, take place in New York, and are all closed with an annual banquet, which I invariably attend. A panic in New York is the paralysis of the country. Prosperity in New York means immense freight upon the railways, and enormous production from farm and factory and mine. New York does not influence, but simply records as the barometer the conditions of trade and production all over the country.

To make a fair successful, a population immediately in contact is absolutely necessary. The French Fair had its thirty millions of visitors, and its 200,000 a day, because it was in the midst of a great resident population, which, for a few cents, and with the least loss of time, could repeatedly visit the Exhibition. St. Louis and Chicago present the most fallacious of arguments in their famous "circles of population." A circle about St. Louis, of five hundred miles to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, may have twenty-seven millions. A similar circle about Chicago, to the North Pole and the Pacific Ocean, may have twenty-five millions. A similar circle about New York may have twenty-two millions. A similar circle about Washington may have twenty millions; and, without much difficulty, by this process of calculation we shall have within these circles, for the purposes of this Fair, three or four hundred

millions of people, and yet not include over one-half of the present located population of the United States.

A similar circle drawn with Peekskill as a center—a village upon the Hudson where I was born—takes in the Hudson River and the Mohawk valleys, with their continuous villages and cities and unequaled scenery, includes New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, New Haven, Hartford, and Baltimore and presents a compact population which in wealth, in ability to travel, in appreciation of exhibitions and determination to visit them, is unequaled anywhere in the country. But then, Peekskill is deficient in hotel accommodations and in internal lines of travel necessary to carry vast masses to a fair ground and to take them comfortably away. Besides, Peekskill is not here asking for the Fair. The success of an exhibition is in populations in contact with the fair. Take a point centrally located at Jersey City, and draw about it a radius of equal diameter and extent to a line drawn from a point at Lake Michigan around the boundaries of Chicago, and you have a larger population than there is in the city of Chicago. You cross the river by ferry, and you have on the island of Manhattan the city of New York, with 600,000 more people than there are in Chicago. You cross to Long Island by the Brooklyn Bridge, and a circle again thrown out, covering again the same territory on Long Island as is included in the boundaries of Chicago, has more population than there is in Chicago. So that, within what might properly be called the city of New York, there are three and a half Chicagos.

Then, taking Central Park as a center, within a radius of two hundred miles, including the points from which people can come in the morning and to which they can go back at night, there are 8,000,000 of people. The lunch-basket and dinner-pail brigade —the real supporters of a fair, who can get there for a minimum of five cents and a maximum of $2—to the number of not less than 8,000,000 are tributary to the New York Exhibition. That of itself makes it a phenomenal success, and can be met by no similar fact from any other place on the American continent.

The transportation question is one little understood, because it has been little studied. The success of the Paris Exposition was largely due to its location upon a park which had been reserved for military purposes in the heart of Paris, and was accessible from populous centers by a ten to twenty minutes' walk

and by every line of transportation in the city. On any important day there will be present at the exhibition at the time it closes 200,000 people. It is absolutely essential that an exhibition be closed at a specified hour, when the curtains are drawn over the booths and the ropes across the avenues inside the grounds. Then 200,000 hungry, tired, cross people, many with babies and young children, are discharged from the various exits, wild to get to their homes and lodging-houses or to catch outgoing trains and steamboats.

A steam railroad conducting its ordinary business, could run every five minutes a train of ten cars, carrying sixty people each, or 7,200 an hour. A cable road could do about the same on a headway of two minutes; surface roads not quite so well. It would not be possible, in any place where they think of locating the Fair, in either St. Louis or Chicago, to discharge over 25,000 people an hour, and that would take for your 200,000 people eight hours. The first day of the block would be the last of the Fair.

The location of New York upon an island makes it wonderfully adapted to the easy distribution of large masses of people. The museum buildings in the Central Park are in the center of population, and the locations outside of the Park will be in easy and near connection by electric roads. There are seven lines of horse-cars, two lines of elevated roads, and two lines of steam railroads connected with the ground. These carry New York Central trains to the interior of the State and the West Harlem trains up the territory back of the Hudson, and New Haven, Boston, and Albany, and New York and New England trains to New England. In addition, a twenty minutes' walk, or, with the transportation which would be provided, a ten minutes' ride to the river on either side, furnishes the piers and docks, where steamboats and ferries can bear them up and down the Hudson, to Staten Island, to Long Island, up the Sound and across to Jersey City to the network of roads which run out from there to all parts of the country.

Few of the promoters of this great enterprise have contemplated the enormous responsibility which the city assumes which undertakes to make it successful. The French Exposition cost, in round numbers, ten millions of dollars. Of this five millions were contributed by the Government of France and the city of Paris, and four millions raised by a lottery, and the rest by the

sale of concessions, the grounds being entirely contributed by the city. With the differences in cost of labor and material we must add 30 per cent. It would be unsafe to begin a fair unless at least twelve millions of dollars were pledged. So far as I have been able to ascertain, Chicago and St. Louis have each about four millions which might be called available. New York has a guarantee fund of five millions of dollars, subscribed under a contract which is binding upon the subscribers and their estates.

The Committee on Legislation have unanimously adopted a bill asking the Legislature to authorize the city of New York to expend ten millions of dollars in buildings and grounds. There is no doubt about this authorization. Part of it will go for the completion of the Museum of Natural History and of the Museum of Art, to the completion of both of which the city is already pledged. This will furnish fifty-two acres of floor-room in fire-proof buildings. These buildings will be connected, through the subway which adjoins them, by an electric road, and over it a promenade can be built which will present a horticultural garden of unequaled beauty; while in the grounds north of the Park, which comprise Morningside and Riverside Parks and lands already promised, there are several hundred acres for a machinery hall and such other structures as may be required for the purposes of the exhibition. New York, therefore, comes here, not only as the metropolis of the country, not only as the gateway to the continent, not only with the unequaled location where the ships can sail to the docks adjoining the exhibition, but with the money pledged which makes the Fair an unquestioned success.

Besides, New York has in her two museums art treasures exhibiting the progress of civilization for thousands of years, which have cost $5,000,000 and are of priceless value. These could not be transported to any other place. Then the wealth and opportunity of a century have accumulated in New York in private collections, treasures gathered from the monuments and tombs of the ancients, from the sales of rare collections in Europe and the dispersion of galleries and art treasures, which, in the aggregate, are not equaled in any city in the world. All these, in the fire-proof buildings of the Museum of Art, would be available for the purposes of this exhibition, to make it a phenomenal triumph.

The exhibition will be held from May to November. During

that period at Washington, at St. Louis, at Chicago, it is a question of pajamas and palm-leaf fans. But an exhibition requires comfortable clothing, and the disposition and the physical power to move fast and far. St. Louis admits the phenomenal heat of the Democratic Convention of 1884, which put an end to national conventions being held within her borders. Chicago claims that Lake Michigan is her refrigerator and her reservoir. While gasping for breath one midnight in the Great Lake City, with my pajamas hanging on the bed-post, I remarked to my Chicago friend: "What is the matter with the refrigerator?" He said: "In every well-regulated household there are occasions when the hired man neglects to put the ice in the box."

During the months of July and August the sweltering foreigner, wishing to see the inhabitants of these cities, would find them in New York and the seacoast adjacent. New York has become the largest watering-place in the world. The ante-bellum Southerner, if he passed the White Sulphur Springs, went to Saratoga, to the White Mountains, to Sharon Springs; but the New South comes to New York, where it can drive in Central Park, stand on the Brooklyn Bridge on moonlight nights, sail up and down the unequaled Bay and the unrivaled Hudson, go to Coney Island or Long Branch and take a plunge in the surf, and enjoy the forty theaters and one hundred concert halls which furnish amusement in the evening.

Twenty-five thousand strangers, fifty thousand at the outside, would be the limit of St. Louis. The Republican Convention last June in Chicago, which brought possibly a hundred thousand, crowded the town to the extent of discomfort—I remember it crowded me—while the Centennial of the Inauguration of George Washington last April in New York brought there a million visitors, who were amply accommodated and made scarcely a visible addition to the enormous crowds which are the normal characteristic of the metropolis. At Coney Island, at Long Branch, at Rockaway, at Long Beach, at the innumerable places of resort within an hour of the city, a million of people can be comfortably accommodated over night, with the attractions of surf and air unequaled anywhere else upon the coast, and unknown in the interior. The exhibition fails in one of its objects unless it is educational. American artisans, mechanics and working men and women can there see the best results in metals, in wood and in

textile fabrics from the shops and looms of the world. Expensive transportation will prevent their visiting a fair, but steamships in which they can be cheaply carried and housed will bring them from all along the Atlantic Coast to the gates of the New York Fair.

The Southern Society in New York has more members than there are in any club in any city in the South. The Ohio Society of New York numbers more citizens of Ohio than any club in the cities of that State, and has just furnished one of its members to be Ohio's next United States Senator. The same is true of the Pacific Coast, and of the West and Northwest. There are in New York more Irish than in Dublin, more Germans than in any city in Germany save two; and Italians enough to make one of the group of cities third in population in Italy. New York with her harbor, her Hudson and East rivers, her Brooklyn Bridge and Bartholdi Statue of Liberty, her museums, parks and theaters, her race-courses and her seaside resorts, is alone the most attractive exhibition on the American continent.

Politics have been suggested. The bugaboo of Tammany with the tiger's head, the shining teeth, the whisking tail and the polished claws stands on a national platform facing the Republican Party. Well, I have lived all my life right under those claws, and every once in a while we pull them. The idea is that some of the ten millions or more expenditure which this Fair is to create may get into the hands of Tammany, and enable it to hold the State of New York during the next four years, and to carry it in 1892. But under the bill which we have drafted, the expenditure of the money is left entirely in the hands of the corporators named in the bill now on your desk—103 men, of whom 60 are Republicans and the rest are Democrats of all shades. But they are all gentlemen of honor and integrity, who would assume the responsibilities of this trust as a public duty.

While there has been some chaff and ridicule and raillery and pleasantry in the discussion of the claims of Washington and St. Louis, of Chicago and New York, I can say for New York that there has been no feeling other than the warmest, the kindest and the most respectful for those other cities and their ambitions. We appreciate the public buildings and the unequaled situation of Washington; the history, the location in the Mississippi Valley and the future of St. Louis; and the marvelous growth, expan-

sion and development, not only in commerce and trade, but in all the elements which constitute a great city in art and culture, of Chicago.

Wherever the Fair may go, New York, so far as so great a city can, will do her best to make it a success. But if this committee will dismiss all claims of locality, all efforts to add to the prosperity of a city or section, and look at the whole country, its needs and opportunities for the World's Fair, and the place where the whole country would be most benefited by the exhibition, the decision cannot fail to be New York.

If the Government should to-day appropriate to every family in the United States the money which would carry them to one place, with the distinct understanding that they could select no other, the vote, with a unanimity unequaled in the expression of desire, from Maine to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, among farmers, ranchmen, mine-men, merchants, artisans, professional men, journalists, artists would be "Take me to New York."

SPEECH IN BEHALF OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY

SPEECH AT GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, AT THE BENEFIT GIVEN BY THE HEALTH EXPOSITION TO THE RED CROSS SOCIETY, MAY 14, 1898.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Next to the absorbing feature of the war, now being waged by the United States for humanity and liberty, is the occasion which calls us together to aid the Red Cross Society in its humane endeavors to alleviate the sufferings inevitable from the struggle.

The influence of religion and civilization upon war cannot be distinctly stated. War brings out the original savageness in human nature. Its purpose has always been to kill and destroy. Then to kill and destroy but to spare the wounded, and then to succor as far as possible the wounded and sick. This last is war at the close of the nineteenth century. The medical staff have done their best within the present century to save life in hospitals. The prejudices of the military staff against women taking any part in war prevented the surgeon, until 1850, from having the invaluable assistance of the trained nurse.

When all England was distressed by the news which came of the suffering and deaths in the army of the Crimea, a noble woman, cultured, refined, thoroughly educated and trained in medicine and in nursing, came to the front. Her efforts revolutionized the sanitary and hospital conditions of war. This noble woman builded better than she knew. Her name stands high upon the roll of fame, and not only Great Britain, but the world, pays grateful tribute to Florence Nightingale.[1] When she established her hospital, after great difficulties, the medical staff was in doubt, and the army laughed; but soldiers under the care of herself and the ministering angels who accompanied her, gave such testimony as to the efficiency of her work and the mortality list in her hospital as so much less than that in the general hos-

[1]Died in London, August 13, 1910, in her ninetieth year. In 1908 she received the Honorary Freedom of the city of London.—*Ed.*

pital that after the battle of Inkerman, substantially all the sick and wounded were placed in her charge. Her mission demonstrated that to nursing more than anything else is due the preservation of life.

> "O, woman! in our hours of ease,
> Uncertain, coy, and hard to please;
> When pain and anguish wring the brow,
> A ministering angel thou!"

The most skeptical and logical cannot help being impressed with the magnetic power of the subtle something which in our day is called telepathy when conditions exist among people widely separated territorially, but in the same moral, intellectual and social atmosphere, the expressed thought or action of an individual or a community moves them all. Peter the Hermit, in the days when there were no newspapers or telegraphs or cables, could have reached by his voice a limited number of people, and yet his preaching went with lightning rapidity across rivers and mountains, moving millions of men to march in the Crusades for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

In our Civil War every family in the country had a representative in the field. The news was coming daily to near and distant neighborhoods of the boys wounded or sick, and throughout the country was a yearning to help and a feeling of despair around every fireside. A little woman at Bridgeport, Conn., called together a few of her sisters, who also had sons, brothers or husbands in the war, and said: "We, too, can do something." And she organized the famous Sanitary Commission in her locality. Within a few days the news had reached from Maine to California, and in every city, in every village, in every country neighborhood, the women were hurrying to the churches and organizing local sanitary commissions, under the inspiring cry: "We, also, the women, the mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts, can do something." That movement raised $25,000,000 in money and purchased the medical stores and the comforts impossible for the Government to furnish the field hospital. They were carried to the armies and scattered all over the South. That money equipped and sent to every camp and general and field hospital thousands of devoted women, whose efforts, whose ten-

derness, whose affectionate nursing saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of patriotic soldiers.

Multitudes of weeping mothers in the mountains of New England, on plains of the West, among the industries of the Middle States and the fragrant groves of the Pacific Coast were comforted by a missive from the camp, or the hospital, or the battlefield, giving the precious details and parting words of the dying soldier, and saying that in his last hour, when he thought you were beside him, "I kissed him for his mother." The Red Cross Society was organized after the battle of Solferino, but made little headway. The success of the United States Sanitary Commission inspired the philanthropic people of all countries to make another effort. This led, in 1864, to a general representation at Geneva, and an appeal to the governments of Europe. These noble women and their friends appealed to the military governments of the world with the petition that the badge of their society might be respected upon the battlefield and between the contending armies. No power can estimate, no words can picture, the good which this society has done, the suffering it has alleviated and the lives it has saved. Romance, poetry and eloquence have filled the libraries with the glory of the mailed knight, the successful soldier and the great strategist, but no courage, inspired by the heat and fire of the conflict, equals the bravery of the wearer of the badge of the Red Cross, who, unknown and unnamed, works serenely midst the showers of shot and shell to rescue a wounded brother, or stays with the plague and pestilence in the fever-cursed hospital to bring relief and help to the sufferers upon its cots.

The idealists of the French Revolution cried out to the world: "Join us under the banner of liberty, equality and fraternity," but their cry fell upon deaf ears.

Before the echo even could be heard of their appeal they were at the throat of all Europe. The social democracy of Germany speaks with eloquent earnestness to its brethren of France and Italy, of Austria and Russia, but Austria, Russia, Germany, Italy and France are armed ready for battle upon the old lines of national jealousies and the balance of power. The cross was on the flag of the crusaders and under it millions were put to death by the sword. The cross was the banner of the Knights Templar, and for the Templar it was the inspiration for war and slaughter.

But the cross on the arm of a soldier of the Red Cross Society knows no country, no race, no creed, and no limitation but our common humanity.

We Americans were electrified and the whole world moved to applause by the glorious victory at Manila of Commodore Dewey.

The brilliant strategy and superb audacity of the American fleet will live in history along with Trafalgar and the great naval contests of all times. We, the victors, can afford to pay tribute to the Spaniards who at least knew how to die like sailors and brave men. Had a section of the Red Cross Society been in the Philippine Islands under the sanction of the Stars and Stripes and the flag of Spain, they could have rendered infinite help to the wounded of that battle. Within the next week great events are to transpire. The American fleet will repeat in the Atlantic upon the Spanish cruisers who have ventured to our shores the victory of Dewey at the Philippines. But, more significant, the American Army will be upon the shores of Cuba. There will be hot battles before Havana. The Spanish soldier is deficient in marksmanship and in leadership, but he will fight.

Before Cuba is free, and the sacred mission of the United States has been accomplished, sickness and wounds will have overtaken thousands of our brave boys. The agency which beyond all others is to succor them, rescue them and heal them, is the Red Cross Society. In giving it our encouragement and support to-night, we who from any cause are detained at home, are doing something to encourage Clara Barton in her self-sacrificing and beautiful mission, to uphold the Government, to maintain the flag and support our glorious Army and Navy while fighting as no other army and navy ever did before, unselfish and humanely to relieve a neighboring people from despotism, and to give to them justice and liberty.

RAILROAD CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

SPEECH AT THE MEMBERS' RECEPTION, YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (RAILROAD BRANCH), TO MR. WARBURTON, OCTOBER 13, 1908.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: It is a very great pleasure for me to be here to-night. From the formation of this association, thirty-three years ago, I never missed being present and speaking at its anniversaries, but my duties in Washington have prevented my being with you recently.

We are here for the purpose of doing honor to our secretary, and expressing our gratitude to him for the good work which he has done in the twenty-five years of his service, our regret at his departure and our good wishes for success in his new career.

Anniversaries are always popular among men, but seldom among women. An anniversary reveals the age. There is a club in Brooklyn which has celebrated my birthday for the last seventeen years, and though they inform me that I do not look fifty, after the real facts have come out seventeen times in as many successive years the real period of my birth becomes very well known, and I cannot deceive my wife by an appearance of youth. Our social life is one of anniversaries, and they are often patriotic events. But there is peculiar significance in one which rounds out a most useful and admirable career. It is a great thing to have completed that part of one's work and be still in the meridian of life for the making of another success, like Mr. Warburton. All anniversaries suggest reminiscences. Some are most interesting, but the greatest bore in the world is the chronic reminiscent. He holds you by the button and does not let you cut it off and escape while he draws endless trivial details about himself, his wife and his children. The story of this institution is an inspiraton. It should be written by a gifted pen and not only become part of the literature of our library but receive universal circulation.

I have been in active association with railway men for forty-five years as a fellow-employee or in executive positions where

one is still an employee of the corporation. I have been during this period in intimate acquaintance with railway organizations and their chiefs. They are certainly among the best of labor organizations in the world. But the peculiarity which distinguishes the railway men is their camaraderie and devotion to each other. In part of their work it is the element of danger which draws them together. In all of their work it is their common interests.

When I was president and hard times came and business became so poor that it was necessary to lay off trains and stop shop work for a time, men came to me from different departments and begged that some plan might be devised by which those who were retained should have less work in order that the part which they lost might be given to the less fortunate brothers who had been temporarily dismissed. Those who were retained were willing to live during the stress of hard times with sacrifice in order that they might share with their brethren. It was that spirit of self-sacrifice toward his fellowmen, and intense interest in others, that led a locomotive engineer to begin this association thirty-three years ago.

Most of you here are young men. I see hardly one of middle age. It is difficult for you to appreciate, even when described, the conditions at the different railway centers, terminals and shops a third of a century ago, and to understand how infinitely the morale of the service has been raised during that period and how incalculably the surroundings of the employees have been improved. Then there was little care or interest on the part of the officials of the roads for those who were under them. The men themselves would have resented it as an impertinent interference with their liberty if the president and board of directors had attempted, in providing buildings for their rest and recreation, to place them under rigid rules in regard to character, conduct and requirements for membership. At every railway terminal the saloon and poolroom people were preaching personal liberty, which meant that no effort should be made to keep the employees of the companies away from these places. The saloons and the poolrooms wherever the men gathered were made most attractive and were, in a sense, social clubs. There were genial and jovial company, brilliant lights, billiard tables and free lunches, which made the home seem very poor and commonplace.

The young man was almost forcibly carried into one of these places and his introduction hailed with noisy cordiality and drinks to his health. Treating is the bane of American good-fellowship. If one wishes to drink it should be governed by the appetite, but under our system of treating the appetite has no part. If a young man is treated he feels that he must treat, and if there are ten in the party each one believes that in some way his manhood will be smirched unless he also offers the round of glasses, though the period has been reached, with all who are not sodden with rum, when putting more fluid into the stomach is a painful effort. The downward course of men who were brought into these surroundings was very rapid. The railway in its service and the wives and the children were all sufferers. I used to be subject to heart-rending interviews with the wives of our employees, begging me in some way to devise a method by which their husbands could be kept from spending nearly the whole of their wages in the saloon. The churches which are now so well supported at every railway terminal and so influential were then in decay.

We can be very happy to-night that this instituiton, the Railway Men's Christian Association, with its homes everywhere on the railroads, has won such a brilliant fight for the purity and happiness of the home and the manhood of the men, and we can express our gratitude to all who, like our secretary who leaves us, have contributed to this good work. We would be startled if the figures were presented of the number of locomotive engineers, firemen, conductors and trainmen who in that early day were ruined by evil influence which appealed to and seduced them after their day's work. The demoralization of the whole service was a frequent cause of deplorable accidents. The numbers who were continually dropped because of bad habits were greater than would have occurred among the same number in the battles and hardships of war.

There was a locomotive engineer at Collingwood, on the Lake Shore, who was a conscientious, competent and Christian man, and lived in the midst of these surroundings. He saw the neighborhood controlled by distilleries and breweries, and that the only protection was an association for the uplifting of men, for very few men can stand alone against the evils of their environment. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred environment is what makes a man or destroys him. He recognized this, and so in the midst

of discouragements and ridicule he formed a little association of his own. The members had no place to meet except in a round-house; but he made a success of it in a modest way. One day I was in the office of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt when a messenger came with a note from this man. He read it, passed it over to me and said, "Chauncey, that looks genuine." This engineer briefly stated conditions as I have stated them to you. He said: "I have reached my limit, and unless I can get help I can do no more." Mr. Vanderbilt immediately took up the question with all the earnestness and thoroughness which characterized him, and I want to say right here that in my active work for fifty-odd years I have known almost every man in the financial, political, religious or literary world who has risen above his fellows high enough to have people notice him; but I have never known a more thoroughly unselfish, devoted and Christian gentleman than Cornelius Vanderbilt. He worked without ostentation, literally fulfilling the Scripture's injunction: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." He gave one-quarter of his large income for the benefit of his fellow-men. There is little record of his numerous and great benefactions except in heaven.

Now, Mr. Vanderbilt having made his investigation, decided to start this work. The railroad presidents, superintendents and master mechanics whom he consulted said, "Oh, no! the men will resent it, and it will make you unpopular." That did not deter Mr. Vanderbilt, and he had the lumber cleared out of a little room in the basement of the Grand Central Station and fitted it up. We had at the first meeting about thirty. The whole matter was discussed, and it was decided to go ahead. Mr. Vanderbilt said to me, "Chauncey, I am going into this work. I believe it is the greatest thing for the railroads of this country, because on the conduct and sobriety of our employees depends the success of our enterprise, and we owe to them a duty." We selected a secretary, Mr. Stockwell, and for seven years he did his work in a very excellent way. Everything that was done Mr. Vanderbilt paid for, the furniture, the library, the salary of the secretary and assistants, and rooms and help. When it began to be demonstrated among the railway people here what the work was accomplishing, he appealed to other railway presidents East and West, showed them the results and urged them to install the work on their lines. If it had not been for him, I venture to say these

associations would not have been formed, because nearly every one of these presidents said, "We do it as a courtesy to Mr. Vanderbilt; but we take no stock in it."

What is the result? Thirty-three years have passed since that meeting in the basement of the Grand Central Station. There have been established nearly one hundred of these associations, and three hundred branches, with their buildings and equipment for comfort, health, recreation and education, and in those thirty-three years there have been lifted up and passed through the portals to a higher and better life hundreds of thousands of employees of the railroads of this country. If we could condense the stories of the hundreds of thousands of men who have been rescued and placed on firm foundations, who have restored happiness to their families, and won the respect of their neighbors through this work, it would be a remarkable and beneficent contribution to those efforts for humanity which characterize this age.

Now, as this work began to branch out Mr. Stockwell died. It was of the greatest importance that a secretary should be found who could go on with and enlarge it. I do not take any stock in new-fangled ideas that we do not need leaders and guides in this world. I believe all history demonstrates their supreme importance. We would have amounted to very little if there had not been leaders during the Christian era. Certainly Christ was a leader. So also were such men as Luther, Calvin and Wesley. We have followed leaders in our country, and we know if it had not been for Washington the Revolutionary War would not have been a success. We also know what was accomplished by Lincoln and Grant, and by the efforts of others all over the world. My friends, there will be no time as long as the world exists when in every department of life it will not be necessary to have someone as a leader.

Mr. Warburton came into the work, and the result is what we have to-day. Twenty-five years of splendid labor, and yet he is still in the prime of life. I am not sure but he is wise in resigning. If he chooses to enter another field, you will still have his presence and the inspiration of his past. This is the twenty-fifth year for Mr. Warburton, and the thirty-third year for this institution. According to statistics, every thirty-three years constitutes a generation, so we are entering on the second generation. According to that I am a venerable man, and can take to myself

Daniel Webster's appeal to the soldiers of the Revolution at the Bunker Hill Monument celebration: "Venerable men, you have come down to us from a former generation." I try to impress that upon the young men I meet, and I should like, when I announce the fact that next April I will have rounded my seventy-fifth year, to hear them say, "It is not possible, Senator; you don't look fifty." Then I feel like Methuselah, of whom it is recorded that a lady said to him, "I see you are celebrating your birthday." Methuselah said, "Yes, I am 960." The lady replied, "I can't believe it; you don't look a day over 910."

My friends, I think I voice the feeling of all of you, both of those present and those absent, and of every man connected with Railway Christian Associations in this country, every one of the 90,000 members, and all the railroad officials who now so thoroughly appreciate this work, when I say that we extend to Mr. Warburton our thanks for what he has done, and our hope that for him is a future of happiness, and a continuation of long, healthy and successful years.

JUSTICE TO MEMORY OF JOHN JAY.

ADDRESS AT THE AMERICAN COMMERCE BANQUET, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN COMMERCIAL LIBERTY, AT DELMONICO'S, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 19, 1895.

GENTLEMEN: Commercial America this year celebrates the first centennial of the first great event in its history. One hundred years ago the successful result of John Jay's mission to England, with the full text of the treaty he had negotiated, had just been made known. This treaty marks the line in American commerce between constructive success and doubtful uncertainty. The new commercial life which it gave to the nation was born in travail. The years intervening between the treaty of peace with England, and this complementary treaty of amity, commerce and navigation were scarcely less trying to patriot hearts than was the winter at Valley Forge. During the Revolution the enemies of our people had hoped to see the new nation perish for want of money. Over a decade after the Revolution they looked across the Atlantic and smiled at the thought that the new nation might yet strangle itself over the means of making money.

Existence as a nation without money was impossible. The making of money was impossible without commerce. Commerce in successful volume was impossible without Great Britain. The popular hatred against Great Britain was naturally broad and deep. America having repulsed the mother country, many of our people were not only unwilling to defer to her in anything, but would welcome a chance to fight her again. This feeling against England was intensified by the recent accessions to our population from France. The common sense of the American people came near being overwhelmed in the spirit of the hour, which was revolutionary and iconoclastic. The real test of the American leaders, of their wisdom, of their patriotism, and of their far-sighted belief in the principles of republican government, came then. The scene was shifted from the battle-field to the legislative halls. During the war they had faced only the foreign enemy; now they faced the same enemy, allied with discord and distrust at home.

Before, they had fought to save their people from a hostility that sought to sap the energies of the country. Now, they labored to save the people from themselves. The Jay Treaty to-day stands for the success of the patriot leaders in this great crisis. It is the instrument of our national prosperity almost as the Declaration of Independence is the instrument of our national freedom.

The treaty secured in the first place a promise of peace at a time when such a promise was urgently necessary to insure that tranquillity indispensable to nations or individuals who desire to put their houses in order. The treaty gave us business in place of war, at a time when we were languishing for want of profitable employment and were in no condition whatever to invite a new conflict. It secured peace with honor, the exalted statesmanship of its author perceiving that it was necessary for us to grow in strength rather than in aggressiveness. By allowing no coercion of the subjects of Great Britain or of the citizens of the United States, it established a principle of individual liberty that was most salutary in its effects. It opened to trade the door that had seemed to be hopelessly closed. Not the least of the good effects of this treaty was the removal of British troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the United States; where they were still held in violation of the treaty of 1783. This evacuation eliminated a constant source of friction and irritation and gave an opportunity for a better understanding between the old and the new nation. The freedom of commerce and navigation, then so vital to the prosperity of the nation; the absence of discriminating duties on account of nationality; the appointment of commissioners to decide on disputed questions of geographical boundaries; the introduction of the admirable principle of arbitration to adjust the claim of subjects of the one against the citizens of the other country; these are but a moiety of the national benefits conferred by the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay. The treaty was based on the assumption that it was an instrument affecting nations possessing the highest civilization. The provision that private debts and moneys were not to be interfered with between the people of the two countries was a proof of this. Mr. Jay, as well as Lord Grenville, recognized the truth of the principle that war does not wipe out an obligation made independent of war. The regulation of the East Indian

trade; the equalization of tonnage duties; the protection of officers, passengers, and crew on neutral vessels, and especially the clause relative to the treatment of the subjects and citizens of one nation in the dominions of the other in time of war—these provisions signalize the wisdom, the forethought, and the unimpassioned common sense which was the underlying principle of the treaty which has conferred lasting benefits upon our country.

The treaty was not perfect; nobody knew that better than the patriot who represented America in the negotiations, but he believed it was the best that could be made at the time, and President Washington agreed with Mr. Jay. They realized that the fact that Great Britain would place on record an acknowledgment of our commercial rights in a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation was a most salutary achievement, no matter what were the objectionable minor details.

History tells the story of the success which followed the treaty. The merchants of the country felt the stimulus of the new life at once. Our foreign trade jumped from $67,643,725 in 1794 to $117,746,140 in 1795, and in 1796 it reached $140,010,789 in amount. Shipbuilding in America saw its first great boom. Though our foreign trade more than doubled from 1794 to 1796, the proportion of trade in American-built ships was only 86 per cent of the whole in 1794, while in 1796 it was 90 per cent of the more-than-doubly-increased whole.

It is especially appropriate and significant that the recognition of the work of John Jay at that crucial time, one hundred years ago, should receive recognition now from the commercial men of America. Mr. Jay was no less a patriot because he was a conservative man of affairs. Commerce appreciates conservative men. The Jay Treaty was the proof that this nation could take care of itself in the arts of peace and commerce, as well as in revolution and war.

The fact is generally overlooked by historians that the Jay Treaty was almost as unpopular when first suggested as it was after its provisions became known. The cause of the French republic was the popular cause in America. Every city and almost every town had its club in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of France, and the French sympathizers of Charleston, S.C., had gone so far as to apply to the Jacobin club of Paris for adoption as an affiliated organization. The French republic was at war

with England and the allied powers of Europe, and looked to America for aid as an ally, if not as a vassal in that conflict. By a friendly commercial treaty made during our struggle against England, France was entitled to a harbor for her privateers in all our seaports and to active support in maintaining her possessions in the West Indies. To the great mass of Americans the course of Washington's Administration in avoiding this entangling alliance was considered little short of base ingratitude to France. Such, at any rate, was the view universally held by the anti-federal clubs and they lost no opportunity in public meetings, in spirited letters to the newspapers and in petitions and memorials to Congress and to the President in keeping up the agitation. When Genet, the French minister, landed at Charleston, he received such a popular ovation that his head was completely turned. He began almost immediately to commission privateers and to empower French consuls in American ports to act as admiralty courts for the condemnation of prizes captured from the English. All the way to Philadelphia he was met by enthusiastic crowds who hailed the "citizen of France" and styled themselves "citizens of America and fellow laborers in the cause of human rights."

Self interest drove many to a hatred of England, for English privateers were arresting and condemning American merchant ships in the West Indies, and any appeal to the English courts was too expensive to be considered. Expostulations on the ground that America was a neutral power were met by the response that England did not propose to have any power neutral in this struggle. Even where vessels were not actually confiscated they were liable to be arrested and taken to English ports and compelled to sell their cargoes at any price an English court chose to put upon them, on the ground that they were carrying flour or grain to France. The English in Canada were encroaching upon the territory of the United States in Vermont, and so far from giving up the Western posts, it was reported that Lord Dorchester, Governor-general of the English possessions in America, had assured the hostile Indians of Illinois and Indiana that they should soon again go upon the war-path against the American settlers on their lands in Kentucky and Ohio. Lord Grenville, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, indeed, denied that orders had been given to incite the Indians on the American border to war, but Lord Dorchester's alleged speech was repudiated neither by the Gov-

ernor himself, nor by the British Minister in this country. Thus everything at home and abroad was tending to augment the popular detestation of England and the corresponding glorification of France, and the mere suggestion of a commercial treaty with Great Britain was greeted by a large part of the people with the most outspoken hostility.

But while the Jacobin sympathizers were able to make a great deal of noise, at no time did they carry with them the solid conservative business men of the country, and this fact should never be lost sight of, when reading of the unpopularity of the Jay Treaty. The politicians, however, were more susceptible to popular clamor, and there was a considerable party in the United States Congress who were hostile to the proposed alliance with Great Britain. The nomination which was sent to the Senate for confirmation was accompanied by the following letter from the President, which shows plainly that this measure was indeed a last resort before going to war as an ally with the French.

United States, 16th April, 1794.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

The communications, which I have made to you during your present session from the dispatches of our Minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advancing prosperity of the United States, is contemplated; I have thought proper to nominate and do hereby nominate,

JOHN JAY, as envoy-extraordinary of the
United States to his Britannic Majesty.

My confidence in our Minister Plenipotentiary [Thomas Pinckney] in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness and to cultivate peace with sincerity.

G. WASHINGTON.

The news of the appointment of Mr. Jay caused rejoicing in his own city of New York, where according to the *Daily Advertiser* of May 10, 1794, a special meeting of the Chamber of Com-

merce was called May 9, and the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That this corporation can discover neither policy nor justice in commencing hostilities against any nation before the means of negotiation have been exerted to prevent them.

Resolved, That in the present crisis, we consider the appointment of an Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Great Britain as one among the most powerful of those means having an equal view to the peace, interest and dignity of the Republic.

Resolved, That the talents and integrity of the character of the one selected for this important mission, have inspired his countrymen with confidence and will, as we believe, have a happy effect in bringing to a favorable issue the object of his negotiations.

Resolved, That if, nevertheless, this embassy should fail to preserve to us the blessings of peace, yet we persuade ourselves it cannot fail to convince all nations of our justice and moderation, to incite our sentiments and efforts, and render an appeal to arms more honorable to us and more formidable to our enemies.

But the news met with a very different reception in other localities. The Democratic Society of Philadelphia led off with a set of resolutions characterizing the appointment as "the most unconstitutional and dangerous measure in the annals of the United States." Sympathizers with the French all over the United States took hostile action upon the proposed embassy to Great Britain. The Democratic Society of Washington, Pa., held a meeting on June 23, and passed resolutions censuring the executive for advising neutrality during the war between France and England, and for nominating John Jay as a special envoy, "which, to say the least of it," continued the resolutions, "was a great indelicacy to the people of the United States." The Democratic Society of Wythe Court House, Va., Washington's own State, on July 4, prepared an adddress containing these words directed at the President himself:

We lament that a man who hath so long possessed the public confidence as the head of the executive department hath possessed it, should put it to so severe a trial as he hath by a late appointment. The Constitution hath been trampled upon and your rights have no securitiy. Citizens, what is despotism? Is it not a union of executive, legislative, and judicial authorities in the same hands. This union then has been effected. Your chief-justice has been appointed to an executive office by the head of that branch of Government. In that capacity he is to make treaties. Those treaties are your supreme law; and of this su-

preme law, he is supreme judge! What has become of your Constitution and liberties?

But the most bitter hostility to the appointment came from the new settlements in the West, where Jay's mission was deemed little less than a surrender to the power that had been inciting the Indians to hositility. And yet these frontier settlers were to be the first class of American citizens benefited by the treaty which, when signed, included the withdrawal of the British garrisons from posts within the territory of this country, and thus deprived the hostile Indians of confidence and support.

Before his departure for England, Jay was burned in effigy in at least one town, Lexington, Ky. The following curious account of the occurrence appeared on August 2, 1794, in the New York *Journal* or *Patriotic Register:*

The late appointment of John Jay as Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of London brought so strongly to the recollection of the people of this country, his former iniquitous attempt to barter away their most valuable right [supposed to refer to the unpopular decision of Chief-justice Jay in 1793 declining to permit the repudiation of private debts contracted between Englishmen and Americans previous to the Revolution] that they could not refrain from openly testifying their abhorrence of the man whose appointment at this critical point of their affairs they considered as tragically ominous. Although they had not forgotten, nor even faintly remembered his former act of treason against them; yet they hoped from the office he filled, he was in as harmless a situation as he could be placed; and that no sort of power or policy could drag him forward, so long as he held this office, and set him once more to chaffering with our rights. With these impressions a number of respectable citizens of this place and its vicinity, on Saturday last, ordered a likeness of this evil genius of western America to be made, which was soon well executed. At the appointed hour, he was ushered forth from a barber's shop, amidst the shouts of the people, dressed in a courtly manner and placed erect upon the platform of the pillory. In his right hand he held uplifted, a rod of iron; in his left he held extended Swift's last speech in Congress, on the subject of British depredation; on one side of which was written,

> Nemo repente fuit turpissimus. Juv. Sat. iv-33.
> No man e'er reached the height of vice at first.

And on the other:

> Non deficit alter. Virg. Aen. 6.
> A second is not wanting.

About his neck was suspended by a hempen string, Adams's defense of the American constitutions; on the cover of which was written:

> Scribere jussit aurum. Ov. Ep.
> Gold made me write.

After exhibiting him in this condition for some time, he was ordered to be guillotined, which was soon dexterously executed and a flame instantly applied to him, which, finding its way to a quantity of powder which was lodged in his body, produced such an explosion that after it there was scarcely to be found a particle of the disjecta membra.

But, fortunately for his peace of mind, Mr. Jay was far away when most of this hostility was being displayed. He sailed from New York Harbor on the ship *Ohio,* May 12, and the New York *Daily Advertiser* tells of "an immense concourse of respectable citizens" who attended Mr. Jay from his house to the ship and saluted him with acclamations as he went aboard. There was also a discharge of cannon from the fort at the Battery—afterwards Castle Garden—as the vessel sailed away. In concluding the account the writer says: "Indeed, the difference of parties seems in reality this; whether we shall go to war before it is necessary or not."

Enough has been written to prove that the very idea of a treaty with Great Britain was repugnant to a certain class in the country, and that such a treaty was bound to be bitterly attacked and opposed, whatever its provisions. But England was reluctant to do any more than was absolutely necessary toward recognizing America as a commercial nation. The mother country deemed the Americans still colonists, though temporarily alienated, and was disposed to give the envoy little besides civility and not too much of that. Lord Grenville at first treated the appointment of an envoy from this country as utterly superfluous, offering to the Americans ample redress for the seizure of American vessels, by appeal from the admiralty courts to the higher courts of England, and justifying the detention of vessels laden with provisions for France. Indeed, to Mr. Jay the mission to the King of England must have been suggestive of that of the mouse sent to bell the cat. However, the newspapers of the day gave notice from time to time of the progress in the negotiations. Now Mr. Jay had dined with Mr. Pitt, the old friend of the colonies, and now he had been presented to the King. The anti-

Federal papers alleged that he had even kissed the hand of the queen and the radical clubs resolved that for this offense "his lips ought to be blistered to the bone." Then to Boston first came the news, by a vessel from England, that a treaty had been perfected, but little was known as to the terms of the document. Toward the end of January, Frederick Jay in New York received a letter from his brother, dated November 21, 1794, and authorized the publication of the following extract in the newspapers:

"It will give you pleasure to be informed that the treaty I was sent here to negotiate was signed the day before yesterday."

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* on February 4, published the following extract from a letter written by a London merchant to his friend in this country under date of December 6.

> The treaty has actually been signed between the United States and Great Britain and published in our Gazettes—in consequence thereof the price of American stock has risen very considerably, particularly bank stock, which is at one hundred and twenty-four pounds sterling a share, dividend to the purchaser.

Nothing more definite was known as to the terms of the treaty than that Great Britain agreed to extend the time during which appeals should be possible from the findings of admiralty courts in cases involving the seizure of American vessels, and also had agreed to withdraw troops from the Western posts in accordance with the former treaty with this country which closed the Revolutionary War.

New York, being a maritime community and having more to lose by a war than most of the other States, was prepared to welcome Mr. Jay with open arms, for the fact was recognized that, however unsatisfactory the treaty might be in other respects, certain great and advantageous concessions had been wrung from Great Britain, and a war would not take place. The time was ripe for an expression of appreciation toward Mr. Jay. His popularity is evinced by the fact that his party nominated him for Governor of the State of New York to succeed Governor Clinton, and he was elected during his absence. On May 27, 1795, Mr. Jay landed in New York and was welcomed by "an immense concourse of citizens who received and conducted him amidst repeated acclamations to his house in Broadway, where Mr. Jay addressed them. At six a joyful peal was wrung from the bells

of the city, and at seven a Federal salute was fired from the Battery."

Up to that time the treaty had not been published, and as nothing was known definitely about it, there was nothing for the opposition to criticise. The terms of the treaty were fully published in July, and immediately the storm burst. All the pent-up hatred of England growing out of the seven years of the American Revolution, and all the repressed sympathy for France growing out of the French Revolution of 1793 combined to undo the great statesman's work. Every article of the treaty was criticized, and the document was branded with such abusive epithets that it has taken a full century for justice to be done it. Town meetings were called in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to denounce the treaty, but the town meeting held in New York passed a vote of confidence in the administration, the friends of Mr. Jay being present in as great force as his enemies. So patriotic a man as Governor Samuel Adams of Massachusetts was led astray by the popular clamor, and in an address to the Legislature declared the treaty "pregnant with evil."

"I fear," said he, "that it may restore to Great Britain such an influence over the Government and people of this country as may not be consistent with the general welfare."

However, the business community which was most affected by the terms of the treaty, still recognized its advantages to America. At a special meeting of the New York Chamber of Commerce held July 12, 1795, while the opposition to the treaty was at its height, resolutions were passed endorsing the treaty as a wise and just measure. Washington condescended to make the following statement respecting the treaty in a letter to the President of the Boston Chamber of Commerce:

> While I regret the diversity of opinion which has been manifested on this occasion, it is a satisfaction to learn that the commercial part of my fellow citizens, whose interests are thought to be most directly affected, so generally consider the Treaty, as calculated, on the whole, to procure important advantages to our country.
>
> This statement will, I trust, be extended in proportion, as the provisions of the Treaty become well understood.
>
> With due respect, I am sir,
>
> Your obedient servant,
>
> G. Washington.

At a banquet in Boston, on Washington's birthday, the following was among the toasts:

John Jay: May virtue, independence, and patriotism be eventually successful.

At a similar banquet at Newburyport, the following appeared among the toasts:

John Jay: May a speedy and honorable indemnity to the sufferers by the depredations of our trade soon evince the merits of the treaty lately negotiated by him, and silence its opponents.

Alexander Hamilton, whom the President is said to have first intended for the difficult mission Jay accomplished, defended the document in a series of convincing articles under the signature of "Camillus," which appeared in the daily papers from August, 1795, to the end of the year and which by Mr. Jay's enemies were at first attributed to him. The clamor that had been raised against the treaty was largely that of thoughtlessness. As Mr. Fisher Ames pointed out in his famous speech in the House of Representatives, the alarm spread faster than the publication of the treaty. There were more critics than readers, and as the subject was examined the fears subsided. "The movements of passion," said Mr. Ames, "are quicker than those of the understanding. We are to search for the causes of first impressions, not in the articles of this misrepresented instrument, but in the state of the public feeling." Mr. Ames eloquently urged the Congress to pass the laws carrying the treaty into effect, and so important to the endurance of the republic did he consider them that he closed his address with an appeal that had in it much of foreboding. "If, however," he said, "the vote should pass to reject, and a spirit should rise, as it will, with the public disorders to make confusion worse confounded, even I, slender and almost broken as my hold upon life is, may outlive the Government and the constitution of my country."

Throughout the storm of ill-considered clamor, the mind of Mr. Jay did not waver from its equable poise. "I carried with me to Europe," he said to Edmund Randolph, "and I brought back from thence a fixed opinion that no treaty whatever with Great Britain would escape a partial, but violent, opposition. I did clearly discern that any such treaty would be used as a pretext

for attacks on the Government and for attempts to diminish the confidence which the great body of the people reposed in it.

He listened not to the voice of the people, but calmly pursued the course of duty, fully confident that history would do him full justice. He was led into no intemperate impatience with the radicals who condemned the treaty so vociferously. "Apprised of what had happened in Greece and other countries," he wrote to General Henry Lee: "I was warned by the experience of ages not to calculate on the constancy of any popular tide, whether favorable or adverse, which erroneous or transitory impressions might occasion. The treaty is as it is, and the time will certainly come, when it will universally receive exactly that degree of commendation or censure, which, to candid and enlightened minds, it shall appear to deserve."

Under the influence of the respected leaders who endorsed the treaty, guided by the conservative advice of the business men in the different States, the nation as a whole acquiesced when, in December, 1795, the President announced to the Senate that he had assented to the terms of the proposed treaty, with the exception of one of its provisions, which was left in abeyance. The American people never had cause to regret his action. Within two years they experienced such a revival of business as demonstrated the value to them of friendly relations with the most formidable mercantile power in the world. And the commercial history of this nation for a century has gone on testifying to the worth of the Jay Treaty, on the lines of which subsequent treaties were framed.

The great principle of the separation of American from European politics, which was an unstated issue at stake at this time, has been of inestimable value to the American people. It found its legitimate outcome early in the present century in the Monroe Doctrine, which forever debars European states from expeditions of conquest to these shores, and restricts the endeavors of foreign shipping in American waters to the peaceful pursuits of commerce. And who shall say that the marvelous material progress of the United States, as an object lesson showing to the world the tendency of peace and righteousness to exalt a nation, has not reflected more glory on the flag and done more for the advancement of human rights than any career of victorious war imagined by the Jacobin clubs of a century ago?

It is true that in 1812 the long-deferred struggle with England could be postponed no longer, but by that time America had recovered from the prostration induced by the Revolution, and was ready for the final test of her right to permanent independence, and the respect of all other nations. The years of prosperity under the Jay Treaty, after 1795, had given us the strength and resources to carry on this conflict successfully.

To appreciate properly the services of Mr. Jay at this most crucial time in the nation's infancy, the treaty must be viewed not more in its positive than in its negative effects, not more as to what it secured than as to what it prevented. His contemporaries could not do this; they lacked the perspective of time. The patriotic men of to-day, to whom the blessings of national liberty and of commercial prosperity have come as a heritage, can look down the vista of time and view events in their right proportion. They see in Mr. Jay's work the first step in our commercial progress, taken alone and independent of Great Britain, with her formal acquiescence and recognition. They see in the making possible of this step a triumph of patriotic zeal and diplomatic skill. They understand why Washington chose John Jay for this critical work, and why through all the abuse and contumely which the unthinking heaped upon the measure and its makers, Washington calmly but firmly supported and endorsed the treaty. Nobody knew better than Washington the condition of the country at the time, and nobody desired more than he that the nation of freemen founded on this continent should survive to behold its national destiny of grandeur. He sought and supported Mr. Jay because the Chief-justice shared his far-sighted knowledge and his broad-minded patriotism. Mr. Jay justified Washington's confidence and proved his own greatness of character, by bringing back from Great Britain a promise of peace and a guarantee of commerce rather than a declaration of war. Consider the result if John Jay had failed in his mission to England, and a premature war had involved France and America in a common cause. One of two things would have followed.

First: Weak as a wounded man, not yet recovered from the awful losses of the Revolutionary War, without money and without credit, it is conceivable that America might have been conquered by the numerous and well-equipped armies of Great Britain. In that case modern progress, as we know it, would

have been impossible. Broken and dispirited, the conquered people, no longer States united in a common cause, but isolated colonies once more, might have waited like South Africa for the benefits of civilization. Every advantage would naturally be given by the mother country to the loyal provinces of Canada. Or, if the spirit of American freedom is invincible and immortal, the United States would have been condemned to fight all over again, at some future time, the war of the Revolution, and the history of the attempts of this weak and impoverished people against a strong and rich one might have resembled that of the Cuban revolutionists during recent years.

Second: If the result of the war had been to establish the supremacy of Republican arms over those of the English monarchy, the results might have been still more disastrous. America would have been linked to France with fetters of friendship and sympathy stronger than the bonds that formerly held this country to Great Britain. French influences would have predominated among the people, and American liberty would have been synonymous with French liberty. Jacobin sympathizers might have been permitted to glory in the guillotine, and the awful excesses of the Paris mobs might have been excused and even applauded in this country. Nor is it inconceivable that intoxicated like the French by the cup of unrestrained liberty, a chaos might have resulted in the United States almost as frightful as that from which the strong arm of military despotism in the person of Napoleon rescued France. Imagine the United States as a vassal of France under Napoleon, and where would the pinions of liberty have then found a resting place in all the world? The cause of popular freedom would have been retarded for a hundred years, and the United States, like Louisiana, might have been moved about as a pawn upon the monarchical chess-board of European politics.

Neither of these two alternative situations, which were possible if Mr. Jay had failed, is overdrawn. He did not fail, but in his success he found so much of misunderstanding, misrepresentation, and malediction from the people he had served, that he deemed his public usefulness ended. He was, I believe, the only man who ever resigned the exalted office of Chief-justice of the United States, a life tenure, in order to serve his fellow-citizens in an elective and temporary place—the governorship of New

York. Having neither the necessity nor the desire for the emoluments of office, he never again, after the expiration of his term as Governor of the Empire State, allowed himself to be drawn into the turbulence of public life.

He had served his country well. Any one of the many important posts held by Mr. Jay is sufficient on which to rest an enduring and honorable fame. As the Chief-justice of the United States—a position of the highest dignity and honor, which he relinquished when he deemed it his duty to accept the governorship of New York—as president of the Congress, as Minister to Spain at a most critical period of the country's history, and in the exercise of many other important functions, the vigor of his intellect was at all times apparent, and the ardor of his patriotism never flagged. When in Spain his firmness and wisdom saved to us the mouth of the Mississippi, and by taking on his own shoulders the burden of a financial responsibility, which would have appalled a smaller man, he saved the credit of the young Republic.

The calmness and the dignity with which John Jay bore the malignant misrepresentation of a century ago must have been due in great part to his oft-expressed belief that time would explain his work. Great as his confidence and prescience might be, however, he could not foresee the full extent of the national development and progress, the beginning of which his treaty marked. Philosopher as he was, he yet was unconscious of the great forces which science was to bring to the service of commerce and industry. Fulton, Morse and Edison were to come after him, but his life and services had served to save for them the noblest workshop in the world—free America.

It is a strange anomaly that the man who stood so high in the regard of Washington that he requested him to select any office that he might prefer, should require the perspective of a century in order that full justice should be done to his valuable services. Yet it is a pleasure to know that at last public demonstration and permanent record is to be made, both of the worth of his services and of their appreciation by his grateful countrymen.

INDEX

INDEX

Abbotsford, IV-164.
Abbott, Dr. Lyman, VII-342.
Abelard, College of, V-41, 99.
Abolitionism, I-283.
Abraham, Plains of, I-172.
Absolutism in State, I-69.
Accidents, Historical, I-239.
Acropolis at Athens, I-190; V-161.
Acton, Thomas, II-357.
Adams, Abigail, V-204.
Charles Francis, V-147.
John, I-17.
Samuel, V-179.
Ade, George, VIII-219.
Adirondacks, Reforesting of, VII-263.
Africa, Stanley in, III-198.
Agamemnon, Tomb of, III-187.
Age and Youth, VI-59.
Agricultural Address, VIII-195.
Education, IV-334.
Lands, Reclamation of, VII-260.
Products, Surplus of, IV-330.
Society, New York, IV-327.
Agriculture, Primitive, III-183.
in the South, VII-312.
Aguinaldo, IV-223; VI-193; VII-3.
Aidé, Hamilton, V-144.
Ailantus Trees, VIII-300.
Alabama, Confederate Cruiser, III-373.
Alaska Boundary Commission, VII-184.
Resources of, VII-213, 216.
Yukon-Pacific Exposition, VII-210, 215.
Albany, Centennial of Capital at, I-190, 197.
Capitol at, I-197; IV-18.
Journal, Anniversary of, II-277.
Regency, I-203.
Albert Hall, Eisteddfod at, IV-178.
Alden, John and Priscilla, IV-2.
Aldershot, An American General at, II-151.
Aldrich Bill, The, VII-257.
Alexander the Great, I-120; II-347; VII-376.
Algeciras Convention, III-153.
Algiers, Dey of, and the American Navy, II-147.
Allen, Ethan, IV-155.
Parson, IV-156.
Allison, Memorial of Senator, VII-381.
Alma Mater, Impress of, III-141.
Visits to, V-87.
Alsace and Lorraine, IV-318.
Alum, VII-294.
Amalfi, Council of, V-117.
Ambassador, The American, IV-347.
of France, Banquet to, II-102.
of Germany, Banquet to, II-105.
of Japan, Banquet to, II-110.
Uniform of American, II-151.
Ambassadors, II-65.
and Ministers, VIII-186, 192.
Homes for, II-378; IV-345.
Amber and Electricity, VIII-114.
Amen Brethren, II-193, 201.
Corner, The, II-194, 201; VI-281.
America for Americans, I-32; II-22; IV-121, 332.
for Peace, III-279.
Cosmopolitan, IV-185.
American Americans, VI-84.
Army. IV-141.
Art, Growth of, IV-87.
Artists, IV-86.
Book, Who Reads an, IV-18.
Citizenship, IV-133, 297.
Civilization, III-207.
Commerce, II-354.
Commercial Liberty, VIII-324.
Goods, IV-73.
Liberty, Many Sources of, III-313.
Literature, Father of, IV-164.
Mercantile Marine, VII-230.
Navy, IV-141.
Party, VII-370.
Peril, The, II-89.
Progress, III-309.
Revolution, Sons of, IV-129, 134, 136, 142, 148.
Settlement, Evolution of the, IV-134.
The Typical, I-274.
Americanism, I-33; II-84.
Americans Ignorant of America, III-30.
Americas, Owners of the, VIII-79.
Amherst, General, I-170.
Anarchist, The Las Cruces, VII-119.
Anarchists, VIII-284.

Ananias and Sapphira, Society of, III-136; IV-372.
Ancestors, Colonial, IV-145.
Our Dutch, IV-173.
Ancestry, Dutch-English, VIII-268.
a Handicap, VI-8.
Revolutionary, IV-130.
Anderson, John, I-52.
André, Capture of, I-50; III-256.
John, I-12.
Andrews, Rufus P., VIII-230
Anemia, Tropical, VII-340.
Anglo-Saxon Race, IV-93.
Anniversaries, VIII-318.
Answer, An Evasive, II-265.
Anthony's Nose, St., IV-167.
Anti-Imperialism, VI-53.
Anti-Militarism, VI-53.
Anti-Slavery, I-86; VI-319.
Leaders of, VI-319.
Appalachian Forest Reserve, VII-63.
Deforesting of, VII-265.
Rainfall in, VII-207.
Appellate Justice's Dinner, II-366.
Appian Way, V-74.
Appomattox, I-18, 115, 124.
Grant at, III-227, 317.
Arbitration, V-262.
As a Moral Force, VIII-176.
Court of, IV-322.
Genevan, IV-324.
International Court of, II-100.
Arboriculture, VIII-299.
Argo, The Grecian, IV-13.
Argentine Republic, VIII-252.
Aristocracy, Fear of Hereditary, IV-360.
Arizona, Territory of, VII-83, 94, 96, 110, 143.
Armenia, Massacres in, III-29.
Armies of Europe, IV-318.
Armstrong, Samuel Chapman, V-300.
Army, American, IV-141.
Colonial, VII-74.
Continental, I-15.
and Navy, Banquet to, IV-136.
of the Potomac, I-114; Reunion of, I-143.
of the Republic, Grand March of the, IV-383.
United States, II-150.
United States, Nucleus of, IV-39.
Arnold, Benedict, I-12, 51; III-253, 255, 319.
Benedict, Mrs., I-57.
and André, III-256.
Matthew, III-194, 201.
Sir Edwin, Reception to, III-200, 211
Art, Paganism in, IV-207.
Tariff on Works of, IV-86.
Arthur Coterie, The, IV-372.
Chester A., IV-127; V-108; VI-282, 312.
Peter M., III-103.
President, Memorial of, I-216.
Ashford, Dr. Bailey K., VII-340.
Asia, Deforesting of, VII-269.
Postal Savings Banks in, VII-274.
Aspasia, Salon of, III-68.
Assassination of Magistrates, VIII-283.
Assuan, Dam at, VII-124.
Astor House, II-193.
John Jacob, III-89; VIII-160.
Library, IV-342.
Mrs. William, II-360.
Athens, Maid of, III-186.
Athletic Club, New York, IV-302.
Clubs, Greek, IV-302.
Athletics, Brutality of, II-304.
College, V-217.
Atlanta, Battle of, I-279.
Atlantic Cable, First Message over, III-308.
Projectors, Painting of, II-41.
Auditorium, Chicago, Banquet in, II-233.
Augusta, The Fair, IV-257.
Augustus, Emperor, and Doctors, V-137.
Aumale, Duc d', IV-97.
Austerlitz, Sun of, I-104.
Austin, Alfred, IV-311.
Australia, Confederation of, VIII-63.
Postal Savings Banks in, VII-274.
Austria and the Spanish War, VII-166.
Automobile, The, IV-307.
Club, Dinner of, II-324.
Races, II-325.

B

Bacon, Augustus O., VII-309, 313.
Rev. Dr. Leonard, III-337.
Bainbridge, Commodore, II-147.
Bald Eagle of Westchester, I-309.
Balfour, Arthur, III-179.
Balkan Mountains, III-184.
Ballot, Purity of the, IV-95.
Reform, IV-120.
The Secret, III-95.
Box, Protection of, I-34.
Ballots, Beware of, III-167.

Bank and Bankers, VI-301; VII-226.
Clerks' Benefit Association, VIII-13.
Examiners, VII-258.
System, Want of, VII-192.
Bankers the Arbiters between Nations, IV-316.
Committee of Associated, VII-197.
Roman, VIII-14.
Banking System, National, I-48.
Banks, Canadian, VII-195.
German, VII-195.
Government Deposits in, VII-193.
of New York, II-19.
Banquet Hall, Princes of the, VI-333.
Bar Association, New York, IV-313.
Barber, A Contented, III-54.
Bards, Welsh, IV-178.
Barnard College, V-268.
Bartholdi, Frédéric Auguste, I-96; II-252.
Barton, Clara, VIII-317.
Bate, William B., VII-83.
Battery in New York, I-189.
Battle, Gage of, IV-315.
Battle Hymn of Republic, VIII-107.
Battles, Fifteen Decisive, IV-243.
Battle-ship Fleet, Cruise of the, IV-368.
Maine, Tragedy of the, VIII-94.
Battle-ships, VII-171.
Bedloe's Island, Statue on, I-96.
Beecher, Henry Ward, II-119, 259; III-112, 295; VI-114; VIII-216.
Beef and Rheumatism, VIII-233.
Beekman, Cornelia, III-257.
Bell and the Telephone, III-160.
Bellona, The, III-259.
Benjamin, Park, I-164.
Bennett, James Gordon, II-283.
Bennington, Battle of, IV-156.
Benton, Thomas H., Statue of, VIII-7.
Berkeley Oval, The, V-45.
Berlin, Metropolis of Germany, IV-51.
University of, V-221.
Berrian, Robert, I-180.
Bessemer Steel, VIII-209.
Beveridge, Albert J., Introduction by, VII; VII-83, 91, 95, 125.
Bible-backed Men, IV-303.
Bible Class, Dinner of Young Men's, II-187.
First printed, I-70.
Influence of, I-226.
Bicycle, The, IV-307.
Bigelow, John, II-377.
"Bigotism and Infamy," II-290.
Bigotry, Universal, III-114.
"Bigness and Brag," III-277.
Bill of Rights, IV-175.
Billop, Capt. Christopher, VIII-57.
Bimetalism, IV-206.
Birthday Celebration, First, III-1.
Second, III-5.
Third, III-12.
Fourth, III-18.
Fifth, III-27.
Sixth, III-35.
Seventh, III-46.
Eighth, III-59.
Ninth, III-67.
Tenth, III-76.
Eleventh, III-86.
Twelfth, III-97.
Thirteenth, III-107.
Fourteenth, III-116.
Fifteenth, III-125.
Sixteenth, III-138
Seventeenth, III-151.
Eighteenth, III-165.
Birthdays, Celebration of, IV-226, 245.
Bishop of London, Banquet to, II-123.
Bismarck, the American, I-144.
Prince, I-298; VII-168, 377.
and Silver, VI-114.
Blaine, James G., II-85; V-344; VI-273, 284.
and Peekskill, VIII-217.
Blair, Francis P., IV-276.
Bliss, Col. George, II-357.
Cornelius N., II-207.
Blue and the Gray, I-249.
Boabdil, King, IV-293.
Bodine, Deacon, III-327.
Boer War, VIII-193.
Bogardus, Everardus, IV-175.
Bohemia, II-127, 249.
Bolivar, Simon, VII-151.
Bon Homme Richard, The, IV-367.
Bonds, Registered, VIII-205.
Books, Reviews of, IV-282.
Booth, Edwin, VIII-217.
Borah, William E., VII-268, 283.
Bores, How to Get Rid of, III-105.
Boss, The Political, I-305; V-83.
Boston, I'm from, IV-15.
Man in Heaven, II-125.
Port Bill, Protest Against, III-251.
Bourbons of Business, III-57.
Bowdoin, The Huguenot, III-316.
Bowen, Henry C., III-265.
Braddock, General, I-168.
Bradford's Journal of the Mayflower, IV-58.

Brady, James T., IV-384.
John, IV-384.
Brag, American, VI-86.
Braggarts, A Nation of, VIII-201.
Brazil, Productive Power of, VIII-253.
Breeches, Historic, IV-49.
Brewer, David Josiah, I-xi; V-48, 89.
Bride, The Nation's, IV-103.
Bridger, Famous Scout, II-271.
Brigandage in Turkey, III-184.
Briggs, Dr. Charles A., II-27.
Bright, John, IV-122.
Brisbane, Arthur, IV-351.
British Schools and Universities Club, V-342.
Brook Farm Association, III-333.
Brooklyn, A Unique City, III-5.
Bridge, The Eighth Wonder, IV-18.
Club, Dinner to Admiral Schley, II-155.
Puritan, IV-45.
Brooks, Phillips, III-112.
Bromley, Isaac H., After-dinner Rhymes, V-2.
Memorial of, IV-126.
Brougham, Lord, on Washington, I-20.
Brown, Henry Billings, Introduction by, III. I-xi; V-48.
John Mason, I-xii; V-48.
Browne, Junius Henri, I-164.
Browning, Robert, III-70; IV-296.
Brownlow Bill, VIII-199.
Bruce, Linn, VI-269.
Bryan and Casabianca, VI-115.
and Elijah, VI-144.
and Roosevelt, VI-298.
and Sixteen to One, VI-48.
and the Trusts, VI-43.
and Washington, VI-107.
William Jennings, II-273; III-142; V-109; VI-296; VII-321; VIII-54.
Bryn Mawr College, V-208.
Buchanan, James, Message to Queen Victoria, II-43.
Buckner, Simon, I-115.
Buckwheat Breakfast, A, VI-268.
Buddhist, Prayer of, III-107.
Buffalo Bill, II-271.
and Roosevelt, II-225.
Mass-Meeting in, VI-216.
and Municipal Reform, II-72.
Passing of the, VIII-91.
Bull Run, Battle of, I-135.
Bulletin, The Official, VIII-28.
Bundy, J. M., III-182.
Burchard, Rev. Mr., VI-273, 284.
Bureau of Forestry, VII-204.
Burgoyne, Surrender of, I-52, 100, 144.
Burke, Edmund, I-79.
Burlingame, Anson, II-112.
Burlington, Vt., Address at, I-82.
Burns, Anthony, VI-244; VIII-216.
Burr, Aaron, I-205; II-179; VIII-159
and Madame Jumel, VIII-161.
Burton, Joseph R., VII-94, 96.
Business Man and Politics, VII-362; VIII-279.
Men, VI-184.
Butler, Edward H., IV-352.
Nicholas Murray, II-123.
Butt, Isaac, I-291.
Butter and Oleomargarine, VII-53.

C

Cabal against Washington, III-320.
Cabin, The Log, IV-195.
Cabinet, The Real, IV-373.
Cable, Atlantic, II-42.
Message, First II-43.
Cabot, Sebastian, I-166.
Cæsar, The American, I-151.
Fortune of, III-79.
Julius, I-120; VII-376.
and the Rubicon, IV-314.
California, Lesson of, III-33.
Calumet Club, Dinner at, IV-387.
Cameron, Simon, III-219.
Campaign, Issues of the, VI-102.
Keynote of the, VI-73, 228.
Speech, VI-25.
Campaigns, My Eleven Presidential, VI-272.
Camp Jackson, Seizure of, VIII-107.
Walter, V-63.
Campo Santo, Genoa, VI-346.
Canada, Boundary of, II-21.
Our Best Customer, VIII-79.
Postal Bank System of, VII-275.
Reciprocity with, II-21.
Canal Company, De Lesseps, VII-145, 148.
Convention, Banquet of, II-312.
Erie, I-49; II-313; VIII-220.
System, Father of, II-312.
The Panama, VI, 230, 254; VII-144, 234, 365.
Cannon, Joseph, II-362.
Capital under Alien Flags, VII-39.
American, VII-41.
Organized, II-99.
Capitalization of Companies, III-77.

Capitals Remote from Centers, IV-111.
Society in National, III-68.
Capitol at Albany, I-197; IV-18.
Captain of Industry, A, IV-377.
Caracalla, Baths of, VI-345.
Cardinals, Conclave of, IV-279.
Caricature, Law Against, IV-280.
Carnegie, Andrew, V-144, 288.
and College Education, V-56.
Dinner to Andrew, IV-377.
Hall, Mass-Meeting at, VI-89.
"Carpet-Baggers," V-81.
Carroll of Carrollton, Charles, I-4; VII-73.
Carstensen, John, IV-311.
Cary, Henry, IV-378.
Catacombs of Rome, V-74.
Cathay, I-72, 77.
Cathode Ray, II-246.
Catholic Emancipation, Struggle for, I-289.
Catholics in Rhode Island, III-322.
Cavalier and Puritan, I-74.
Cavour, Count, I-298.
Census and Civil Service, VII-290.
Centennial Exhibition of 1876, II-176; IV-288.
of New York State, I-175.
Centralization, Fear of, IV-111.
Central Park, Address in, I-238.
Statues in, II-269.
Century, The Nineteenth, VIII-180.
The Twentieth, VIII-180.
Cervera, Admiral, II-338.
Cervera's Fleet, Defeat of, VIII-72.
Chamber of Commerce Banquet, II-1.
119th " II-7.
121st " II-13.
122d " II-17.
123d " II-24.
124th " II-30.
132d " II-35.
New York, VII-199.
Champion, Judah, Prayer of, III-279.
Champlain, Voyages of, II-102.
Champlin, John Denison, Biographical Sketch by, I-vii.
Chancellorsville, Battle of, I-318.
Channing, W. E., III-334.
Chapin, Dr. Edwin H., II-259.
Charcot and Insanity, IV-26.
Charles II, Dying, VIII-204.
V. of Spain, VII-144.
Charleston Exposition, VII-211.
Charter of Connecticut, III-335.
Chase, Salmon P., I-89; III-371; V-78, 355.
Chatham, Lord, On the British Constitution, II-373.
Chauncey Depewing, V-12.
Cheek and Circumstances, II-98.
Resistless, V-286.
Chemists, German, VII-301.
Chevreul, Dinner to, III-109, 140.
Chicago, II-238.
Anarchy in, II-8.
and Browning, IV-296.
Day at World's Fair, VIII-120.
Man and Heaven, II-125.
Man, A Typical, VIII-130.
National Convention, VI-310.
Press Club, IV-286.
University of, V-191.
and the World's Fair, I-68; II-15; IV-51, 287; VIII-84.
Chickamauga, Garfield at, I-212.
Rock of, I-279.
Chickering Hall, Address at, I-210.
China, Integrity of, VII-172.
Isolation of, VIII-85.
People of, VI-36.
Choate, Joseph, II-378; IV-346.
Christian Association, Railroad, III-347; IV-341; VIII-318.
Young Men's, IV-337.
Faith, The, VIII-152.
King, of Denmark, III-158.
Christianity, Defence of, VIII-149.
Christmas Eve at St. Denis Hotel, II-316.
Christopher, Name of, I-72.
Church and State, Separation of, II-58.
Sleepy Hollow, I-viii.
Cicero, a Great Lawyer, IV-313.
Letters of, II-346.
Cigars, Philippine, VII-324.
Cincinnati, Dinner of the, IV-360.
University of, V-141.
Citizen, An American, IV-133.
Definition of, VII-9.
Sovereignty, V-335.
Citizens, Indians made, VII-85.
Citizenship, American, VIII-49.
City, American, Four Stages of, V-142.
The Ancient, IV-46.
of Churches, III-6.
The Feudal, IV-46.
Gates, Motto on, I-284.
The Medieval, IV-46.
of New York, Response to Toast of, IV-20.
Cities, Rivalry of, VIII-121.
Civic Federation, II-99; IV-43; VIII-177.
Civil Law, The, V-116.
Service Reform, I-31, 221; III-20; IV-99; VI-134.
and the Census, VII-290.

Civil War, The, I-113;II-143; VIII-70.
Cost of the, IV-318.
Makes Us a Nation, II-155.
Pensioners in Switzerland, VI-385.
Result of the, III-276.
Women of the, II-359.
"Civility, Common," III-346.
Civilization, Paradox of, V-196.
Clark, Clarence D., VII-265.
Horace F., V-237.
Class Legislation, VII-45.
Classics, American, III-72.
Clay, Alexander S., VII-164.
Cassius M., II-261.
Henry, III-141.
Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, The, II-100.
Powell, VI-313.
Clemens, Samuel L., Dinner to, III-239.
Cleopatra's Needle, I-107.
Cleveland, Grover, I-36, 38, 94; II-13, 17, 32; III-28, 48; IV-190; VI-284; VII-284.
and Bryan, III-310.
and Forest Reserves, VII-263.
and McKinley, IV-301.
Clinton, De Witt, I-205; II-3, 312.
George, I-17, 46, 187; II-185; V-338.
Sir Henry, I-52, 59, 144.
Clipper Ships, II-144.
Clock, Strasburg, III-348.
Club Life, III-2.
in Europe, IV-389.
in New York, IV-389.
Lotos, II-116, 142, 182, 248, 252, 256, 264; III-189, 192, 196; IV-343.
Millionaires', III-71.
Montauk, III-1, 5, 12, 18, 27, 35, 46, 59, 67, 76, 86, 97, 107, 116, 125, 136, 151, 165.
New York Farmers', VIII-291, 296, 299.
New York Press, II-239, 242; III-211; IV-267, 272.
Republican, II-77, 177, 273; IV-187, 194, 205, 220, 226, 232, 240, 245; VI-58, 329.
The Political, VI-123.
Queen City, III-206.
Union League, IV-74, 80, 98, 102, 114, 126.
Coach Dog and Umbrella, IV-17.
"Coal Oil Johnnie," VII-249.
Strike, The, II-349.
Supply, VIII-249.
Coal Tar, Articles from, VII-301.
Cockran, Bourke, VI-232.
Cody, Colonel, II-271.
Coffee in Porto Rico, VII-19, 343.
Coin's Financial School, VI-94.
Coke, Attorney-general, II-139.
and Charles I, V-28.
Colby, Everett, VI-307.
Coler, Bird S., VI-186, 218.
Coleridge, Lord, V-39.
Samuel Taylor, IV-277; V-321.
College, The American, V-60.
Discipline, V-194.
Girard, III-231.
Graduates, II-226.
Graduates and Horned Cattle, V-288.
of City of New York, V-258.
of Physicians and Surgeons, V-125.
Women's Club, Speech before, IV-258.
Collins Steamers, II-144.
Colonial Dames, IV-194; VIII-133.
Girl, The, VIII-135.
Colored Regiment, Commemoration of, II-356.
Colossus of Rhodes, I-106.
Colombia and Panama, VI-230, 254.
and the Panama Canal, VII-146.
Republic of, VII-153.
Columbia College Law School, V-111.
Miss, II-59.
University, V-62; VI-168.
University Alumni, V-254.
Columbian Exposition, II-173, 233; IV-291; VII-210.
Oration, I-68.
Columbus and the New World, II-46.
Bones of, VI-18.
Dream of, IV-293.
in Porto Rico, VII-342.
Portraits of, I-71.
Statue of, I-238.
Statue of, at Genoa, II-44.
Commerce, American, under Alien Flags, II-11; VII-189.
History of, VIII-178.
Demands of, VIII-3.
is King, II-40.
and Labor, Department of, VI-266.
Ministry of, VI-200.
Power of, VIII-2.
Promotion of, VII-31.
Subsidies for, II-15.
Commercial Centers, II-69.
Expansion, II-38.
Travelers' Meeting, VIII-51.

Commission, Inter-State Commerce, III-161.
Common Law, The, V-116.
School, The, IV-18, 339.
Commonweal, Army of the, V-183.
Competition, American, VIII-5.
the Life of Trade, VII-53.
Compromise, A Basis for, III-368.
of 1820, III-291.
Compromises, IV-364.
Concord Bridge, Battle at, VII-373.
School, V-152.
Confederacy, The, I-137.
Fear of Foreign Aid to, III-372.
Confederate Army, I-135.
Commissioners, VIII-218.
Surrender of, III-373.
Cruisers, II-377.
Leaders, VI-127.
Straggler, A, III-275.
Confederation, Articles of, I-6, 11.
"Confidence Man," The Gold, VI-92.
Congress, Debates in, III-72.
of Sons of American Revolution, IV-129.
of United States, First, I-16.
The Provincial, III-252.
Stamp Act, I-16.
Congressional Record, The, V-102.
Congressman and Waiter, II-343.
Conkling, Roscoe, I-204; II-197; VI-273, 283, 311.
Connecticut, Charter of, III-335.
Constantinople, Picturesque, III-184.
Constitution, The, I-5, 11, 46; V-352; VI-196; VII-61; VIII-81.
Amendment of, I-23.
a Compromise, VII-385.
Fifteenth Amendment to, I-126.
Frigate, I-297; IV-368.
Gladstone on the, I-9.
Phillips and the, VI-245.
Conscience, The Democratic, VII-47.
Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, VI-360.
Construction, Period of, V-222.
Consuls, American, VIII-188.
British, VIII-189.
German, VIII-189.
Consultation, A Medical, V-331.
Continent an Armed Camp, III-179.
The Dark, III-196.
Continental Army, The, III-257.
Washington, Commander-in-Chief, I-15.
Currency, IV-157.
Soldier, The, IV-135.
Convention of 1787, I-8. 46.
Constitutional, I-228; VII-141.
of New York State, I-178.
Conventions, Old-time, VI-97.
Conway, Conspiracy of, I-228.
Cook, Captain, VII-348.
Robert J., V-24.
Coolie Trade, VI-265.
Cooper, Fenimore, IV-169.
Institute, Address at, I-299.
Mass-Meeting, VI-133.
Peter, II-42.
and the Locomotive, III-349.
Sir Astley, V-136.
Corea, Japan in, II-114.
Cornell, Alonzo B., IV-4; VI-282.
Ezra, Life of, V-161.
Quarter-Centennial of, V-161.
Corpse, A Mislaid, IV-9.
Sassed by the, II-30.
Coronation Ceremony in Great Britain, II-57.
Year, London in, VIII-168.
Corporations, III-62; VI-181.
Government Supervision of, III-161; VIII-207.
Peril of, III-272.
Power of, III-161.
Taxation of, VIII-276.
Corrigan, Archbishop, VI-352; VIII-145.
Corruption in Public Life, III-95.
Cortelyou, George B., II-207.
Cortlandt, Manor of, I-viii.
Corwin, Tom, III-113.
"Cosmopolitan Magazine," II-325.
Cotton Crop, VII-312.
Financing of, VII-225.
Corner in, VIII-66.
Gin, I-246; VIII-179.
and Slavery, III-291.
Goods, VII-294.
Mill, The First, VIII-179.
Cotton Mather and Rhode Island, III-322.
Country Roads, VIII-296.
Court of Arbitration, IV-322.
Cowboy in Revolution, I-50, 54.
Justice, A, III-32.
Cowpens, Battle-field of, IV-136.
Cow-pons, Cutting, VIII-292.
Coxey's Industrial Army, V-277.
Cradle the Peril of Germany, VIII-250.
Crane, Ichabod, IV-167.
Cranks, III-208; IV-26.
The Heroic, IV-293.
and Kings, IV-28.
Creditor Nation, United States a, VII-40.
Crime of '73, VI-102, 105.
Crittenden, John J., III-297.
Crockett, David, V-45.

Crœsus, Inventory of, III-79.
Cromwell and Napoleon, IV-315.
Oliver, IV-13.
Cronkite, Catherine, I-viii.
Capt. James, I-viii.
Crops, Money to Move, VII-243.
Crosby, Enoch, III-257; V-314.
Cross on Calvary, I-68.
on San Salvador, I-68.
Croswell, Edwin, I-203.
"Crown of Silver and Cross of Gold," VI-30, 94.
Cruisers, Auxiliary, VII-42.
Crumpond Church, III-257.
Crusades, The, II-46.
Cuba, Administration of, VI-191.
Freedom of, II-60.
Independence of, VIII-78.
Problem of, VI-33.
Reciprocity of, VI-202.
Rescue of, IV-236.
and Slavery, III-308.
Culberson, Charles A., VII-223, 332.
Cummings, Amos J., I-164, 317.
Currency, Inelastic, VII-195.
Reform of the, VII-189.
Curtis, George William, II-259; III-334; VI-243.
Custis, Martha Dandridge, VIII-138.
Czar, Coronation of the, IV-279.
and Russia, The, VIII-201.

D

Dana, Charles A., I-164, 320; II-248; III-334, 359; VIII-299.
Dairy Interests, New York, VII-261.
Daniels, George H., IV-311.
Dark Ages, Savagery of, IV-314.
Darling, Grace, IV-3.
Darwin and Evolution, II-97; VI-286.
Daughter, The Miller's, VIII-62.
David, King, III-152.
Davis, George W., VII-341.
Jefferson, I-139, 160; III-59; VIII-228.
Winter, II-214.
Davitt, Michael, I-294; II-291.
Day, Jeremiah, V-16, 21.
Death, A Sudden, IV-182.
Debate, Lincoln and Douglas, III-290.
Debbs Revolution, The, II-71.
Debts, National, VII-320.
Declaration of Independence, I-3, 41, 75, 98, 178; III-252; VII-74.
Decoration Day Celebration, III-280.
D'Estaing, Count, III-320.
De Lancey, Colonel, III-258.
Delfshaven, Monument at, IV-21.
De Lesseps Canal Company, VII-145, 148.
Delmonico's, Dinner at, II-172, 224, 254, 285; III-225.
Delphi, Excavations at, IV-302.
Oracles of, III-119.
De Maurepas, Prime Minister, I-100.
Demetrius of Ephesus, IV-207.
Democracy, Old Lady of, VII-88.
Democratic Editor a Pessimist, IV-234.
Party, I-93; IV-188; VI-177.
Democrats, Free Soil, III-300.
and Sanity, VI-237.
Demosthenes, Platform of, III-185.
Depew, Chauncey M., Biographical Sketch of, I-vii.
admission to Bar, I-xii.
Birthday Celebrations, III-1, 165.
and Burlingame, II-112.
Candidate for Lieut.-Governor, I-xvi.
Presidency, I-xvii; II-50; VI-314.
changes his Politics, I-xii.
and Class of 1856, I-xxiii.
as Collector of New York, I-xiv; II-282.
Discovery of, V-8.
First Speech of, IV-106; VI-330.
First Vote of, VI-206, 242.
Homestead at Peekskill, I-ix.
and Lincoln, VIII-232.
and the Magazine, VIII-239.
Member of Assembly, I-xiii.
Yale Corporation, I-xxiii.
Minister to Japan, I-xiv; II-111; VIII-74.
New England Ancestry of, I-viii.
and Peekskill, I-ix; IV-114.
at Peekskill Academy, I-x.
Political Principles of, IV-216; VII-50.
President N.Y. Central RR., I-xvii.
Union League, I-xviii.
Yale Alumni, I-xviii.
in Railway Service, I-xv; V-238,
School Days of, I-x; V-310.
and Secretary Stanton, II-166, 213.
Secretary of State, I-xiv, 90; II-166, 213.
and Soldiers' Vote, VIII-231.
United States Senator, I-xxiii; VII.
and Thurlow Weed, II-278.

Depew at Yale College, I-xi.
Isaac, I-vii.
Opera House, VIII-127.
Abraham, I-viii.
De Puy, name of, I-viii.
François, I-vii.
Nicholas, I-vii.
Desert of Arizona, VII-119.
Great American, VII-122, 132; VIII-64.
Reclamation of, VI-288.
Desha, Congressman, VII-193.
De Tocqueville on United States, I-29; IV-91.
Detroit Chamber of Commerce, Address before, II-49.
Deutschland, The, II-144.
Devery, Chief of Police, VI-163, 214.
Devil, Advice of the, III-352.
Dewey, Admiral, V-248.
Guns of, VI-51.
Hall, Laying Corner-stone of, V-247.
at Hongkong, VII-2.
Loving Cup for Admiral, VIII-154.
at Manila, II-339; VIII-317.
and the Philistines, II-35.
Triumph of, IV-370.
Diamond Jubilee, The, VIII-164.
Diana on Madison Square Garden, II-271.
Diderot and the Encyclopaedia, III-233.
Dickens, Charles, I-xx; II-257; IV-353; VIII-216.
Dinner to, IV-353.
Dickinson, Daniel S., I-205; II-281; VI-272, 311, 322.
Dictionary, The Century, IV-26.
Dieskau, General, I-169.
Dingley Bill, VII-383.
and Hanna, IV-379.
Diplomacy, Republican, VI-238.
School of, VIII-186.
Diplomatic Service, V-80.
American, II-378.
Diplomats, American, II-376.
Dispensary, New York's First Free, V-126.
Disraeli, Benjamin, V-112.
and Palmerston, III-23.
Divine Right, Doctrine of, V-229.
Divorce Statutes, V-36.
Dix, John A., I-205.
Dobbs Ferry, Washington and Rochambeau at, IV-139.
Dog, A Reconstructed, III-160; V-332.
Dolly Dialogues, II-266.
Domesticity, Pleasures of, III-86.
Donelson, Fort, Grant at, I-122.
Dora in "David Copperfield," III-163.
Douglas, Stephen A., I-83; III-294, 305.
Shoes, VI-270.
Draft Riots of 1863, I-318.
Draper, Simeon, VIII-230.
Dred Scott Decision, I-85; III-296; IV-324; V-355.
Dress Suit and Tan Shoes, III-55.
Drew, John, Friars' Supper to, VIII-214.
Drexel Institute, V-151.
Drinking, Etiquette of, VIII-234.
Dueling, IV-315.
Duer, William, I-179.
Dundee Factories, VII-301.
Dunderberg, The, IV-167; V-314.
Duquesne, Fort, I-168.
Dwight, Timothy, V-16, 21, 58, 68.
Introduction by, V.
Dyckman, Abraham, III-257.
Dynamite, IV-338.

E

East, Far, and United States, III-118.
and West, IV-296.
Edison and X-ray, VIII-211.
Editor, The Country, IV-284.
The Funny, IV-282.
Editorial Association, Republican, IV-298; VI-158.
Editors, Triumvirate of, I-270.
Edinburgh Review, Sneer of, IV-5.
Education, College, V-288.
a Duty of the State, V-259.
The Higher, V-141.
Liberal, a Duty, V-148.
and Natural Selection, IV-36.
Need of Military, I-278.
the Salvation of Germany, V-220.
Edward VII, V-343.
Coronation of, II-56.
and France, VI-384.
presents Bible to Jamestown, II-126.
Tact of, IV-355.
Edwards, Jonathan, I-254.
Egypt, Learning a Mystery in, V-97.
and the Nile, VIII-87.
Egyptians, Hoarders of Money, VII-242.
Eight-Day Clock, No New, IV-5.
Eight Hour Law, VI-289.
El Dorado, I-72, 77; V-228.
Election Expenses, III-145.

Electoral College, Votes in, VII-327.
Electrical Exposition, VIII-113.
Electricity in Industry, VIII-116.
and Steam, VIII-76.
Eliot, President, III-167.
on Race Mixture, IV-385.
Elizabeth, Queen, and Monopolies, V-28.
Ellicott Club, Dinner at, II-293.
Ellis Island, Visit to, IV-43.
Ellsworth, Oliver, I-9; II-135; V-30, 354.
Emancipation, Proclamation of, I-90; III-154; IV-229.
Fifty Years of, V-174.
Emerald Isle, I-288.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, II-259; III-334; VIII-130.
Emmerick, Hessian Commander, III-259.
Emperor, German, VI-377.
Empire, Course of, I-41.
England, Landed Estates in, VIII-5.
Needs of, VI-199.
"Enoch a Congregationalist," III-270.
"E Pluribus Unum," II-95.
Epictetus, III-53; IV-388.
Epigrams and Jests, II-131.
Epitaph, Quaint, III-286.
Epoch Makers, I-70.
Equality, Strife for, IV-262.
Erasmus, IV-174.
Erie Canal, I-49; II-313; VIII-220.
Erskine, Lord, on Washington, I-20.
Esculapius, V-134.
Europe, Changes in Map of, I-23.
Our trade with, II-20.
Postal Savings Banks in, VII-274.
Return from, VII-342, 357, 368, 373, 377, 382.
Salaries in, VII-286.
Evans, Admiral, and the Pharisee, II-142.
Evarts, William M., II-367; III-112; VII-210, 374.
Exercise, Outdoor, V-277.
Exposition, Columbian, II-173, 233; IV-291; VII-210.
Pan-American, VIII-40.
South Carolina, VIII-73.
Trans-Mississippi, VIII-84.
Extravagance, Cry of, VI-257.

F

Faces and Names, Recollection of, VI-317.
Fairbanks for Vice-president, VI-237.
Fairs and Civilization, IV-290.
International, VIII-304.
Faith, Mark Twain's Definition of, IV-209.
Fame Defined, I-257.
What is? II-185.
Family, A Connecticut, IV-33.
Farewell Address, Washington's, V-348.
Farm House, The Primitive, IV-195.
Farm, The Peekskill, VIII-291.
Farmer, The American, VIII-252.
The French, VIII-252.
Farmers' Club, New York, VIII-291, 296-299.
Farmers, English and American, IV-335.
Organization of, IV-332.
Farms Abandoned, New York, VII-261.
Desertion of the, IV-335; VIII-297.
New England, VII-96, 97.
Value of, VIII-196.
Farragut, Statue of, II-271.
Farrar, Canon, III-112.
Father of His Country, IV-146, 246.
Fauntleroy, Betsy, VIII-136.
"Faust," Moral of, IV-168.
Federal Government, Power of the, IV-247.
Hall, New York, I-1, 16.
Power and State Rights, II-79.
Federalist, The, I-13, 201; II-179; III-321.
Federation, Anti-Imperialistic, IV-44.
Civic, II-99; IV-43.
of Labor, IV-43.
Fenton, Reuben E., I-204; II-197.
Memorial of Governor, I-259.
Ferdinand and Isabella, I-239; IV-293.
Feudal System, I-69.
Fiat Money, II-54.
Field, Cyrus W., II-42.
David Dudley, II-42.
Fifer and Drummer Boy, III-280.
Fifth Avenue Hotel, II-193; VI-281.
"Fifty-four Forty or Fight," III-159.
Fifty-Six, Class of, III-87; V-48, 56, 89.
Fifty Years of Emancipation, II-340.
Filipinos, The, III-82.
Fillmore, Millard, I-216.
Finance Committee and Tariff, VII-299.
Ministers, Great, VI-100.
Populistic Program of, VI-93.

Financial Center, New York the, VII-244.
System, Our, VII-251.
Finch, Francis Miles, V-108.
Finley, Installation of President, V-258.
Fish, Hamilton, VI-39.
Fiske, John, VIII-152.
Mrs. Daniel Willard, V-175.
Fitch, Ashbel P., VI-117.
Clyde, VIII-219.
Flack, William H., Memorial of, I-330.
Flag, Scarcity of American, VII-50, 187.
Upside Down, VI-209.
Fletcher vs. Peck, V-353.
Fletcherism, III-166.
Florence, V-72.
and Columbus, VIII-123.
Florida, Purchase of, VII-6.
Flour Manufacturers, VIII-62.
Food, Cost of, in England, III-50.
Supplies, Corner of, IV-331.
Supply, VIII-249.
Fool or Physician, III-166.
Foraker Act, VII-330, 331.
Joseph B., IV-265.
Forefathers' Day, IV-61.
Our, IV-68.
Forest Service, VIII-249.
Forests, Preservation of, VII-64, 204. 262; VIII-302.
Forester, Chief, VII-208.
Forestry in the Adirondacks, VII-209.
Bureau of, VII-264.
and Foresters, VII-64.
in Germany, VII-205.
in Italy, VII-206.
Study of, VI-380.
in Switzerland, VII-205.
Fort Free Trade, VI-158.
Militarism, VI-158.
Free Silver, VI-158.
Fortunes, Great, III-90; V-94.
Forty-niners, The, VII-379.
Forum, The Roman, I-190; VI-348.
Fountain, Tyler, III-326.
Fourth of July Celebration, III-249, 264, 274.
in Paris, II-56.
Fowler, Colonel, III-258.
Fox, Charles James, on Washington, I-20.
Hunt, An Italian, VI-347.
France, Banquet to Ambassador of, II-102.
Cemeteries of, I-258.
Church and State in, VIII-203.
Forests in, VII-264.
Many Governments in, IV-90.
France, Soldiers of, III-277.
Titles in, IV-148.
and United States, IV-118.
Franchises, Gift of, III-7.
Frankenstein, I-5.
Franklin, Benjamin, I-9, 12, 76, 167; V-319; VII-78; VIII-114.
Fraunce's Tavern, I-208; VI-285; VIII-157.
Frederick the Great, I-15, 145.
Freedom, Civil and Religious, I-70.
First Charter of, I-75.
Gospel of, I-102.
Free Land Exhausted, VIII-251.
Trade, VI-74, 182.
Fremont, John Charles, I-xii.
Campaign of 1856, VI-242.
French Alliance, I-97.
in America, I-166.
Revolution, I-230; VII-294.
"Frenzied Finance," II-299.
Friars in Philippines, VI-194.
Supper to John Drew, VIII-214.
and the Vatican, VI-378.
Fruits Such as Farmers Grow, VIII-291.
Fry, William H., III-358.
Frye, William P., V-108.
Fugitive Slave Law, I-216.
Fuller, Margaret, I-164.
Melville W., V-355.
Fulton, Robert, I-255.
Fusion Ticket, New York, VI-162.

G

Galena, Statue of Grant at, I-119.
Galileo at Pisa, III-175.
Tomb of, V-72; VI-349.
Gallinger, Jacob H., VII-234, 312.
Gallitzin, Prince, IV-148.
Gambetta, Leon, I-298.
Gambling, III-353; VI-169.
Ganson, John, I-91; II-73; VIII-218.
Gansevoort, Leonard, I-180.
Gardiner, Asa Bird, II-264.
Garfield, James A., II-85; V-103, 149; VI-273, 312.
at Mentor, II-248; III-70.
President, Memorial of, I-210.
Garrett, John W., V-240.
Garrison, William Loyd, I-158.
Gaspee, Destruction of the, III-319.
"Gath," III-196.
Gay, Sidney Howard, I-164.
Gaynor, Mayor, II-371.
and Epictetus, IV-388.
Gazetteer, Rivington's, IV-172.
Gem of the Antilles, II-339.
Genet, Mr., VI-126; VIII-327.

Genghis Khan, IV-317.
Genius and Age, VII-377.
Genoa, Campo Santo of, V-73.
George III, I-60.
German Empire, I-143; II-105; IV-218.
Federation, I-238.
Views of the English, V-345.
Germans in America, II-107.
Germany, Banquet to Ambassador of, II-105.
Forests in, VII-264.
Growth of, VII-168.
Made in, VII-297.
and the Monroe Doctrine, II-106.
A World Power, II-108.
Gerry, Elbridge, I-4, 9; V-180.
"Giant, Little," III-296.
Giants of the Senate, VII-315.
Gibbons, Cardinal, III-167.
Giddings, Joshua, II-83.
Girard, Birthday of Stephen, III-231.
Girton College, V-208.
Gladstone, William E., II-117; V-20.
on American Institutions, IV-91.
a Blasted Lyre," VI-359.
and our Constitution, I-9.
and Home Rule, II-161; V-81.
and Mayor Hewitt, IV-52; V-256.
Midlothian Campaign of, VII-376.
Glasgow, University of, V-99.
Gloucester, Duke of, I-98.
"God Bless Our Home," IV-94.
Goethe and "Faust," IV-168; VII-377.
Gold Mines, South African, VI-361.
Production of, VI-49.
Standard, VI-38, 105, 264; VIII-101.
Supply of, VI-31.
Gompers, Samuel, VI-263.
"Good Old Times," III-270; V-32; VI-87.
Goodyear, Charles, III-176.
Gorman, Arthur Pue, VII-180.
Gospel of Freedom, I-102.
of Wealth," IV-378.
Government, Feudal, IV-76.
Hawaiian, VII-352, 354.
A Lawyer's. IV-313.
Paternal, IV-161.
Representative, VI-307.
Science of, VI-177.
Self, Problem of, I-1.
A Unique, IV-183.
Unequal Burdens of, VII-318.
Governments, Colonial, VII-11.
Governors, Martyr, IV-20.
of New York, IV-4.
"Grace Without Works," IV-22.
Graces, The Three, V-146.
Grady, Henry W., III-112.
Granada, Conquest of, I-241.
Granary of the World, VIII-196.
Grand Army of the Republic, I-139, 245, 279; III-363; VIII-107.
Old Man," III-108.
Grant, Gen. U. S., I-224; III-288.
at Appomattox, III-227, 317.
Birthday of, III-225.
Early Life of, III-229.
Mausoleum of, I-109.
Statue of, at Galena, I-119.
Tour of World by, II-150.
in the Wilderness, I-155.
Interview on General, VIII-174.
Granville, Lord, II-118.
Grattan, Henry, I-289.
Grazing Privileges, VII-271.
Great Britain a Democratic Nation, V-343.
Paupers in, VII-297.
Pessimism in, VII-169.
and the United States, II-121, 335.
Great Eastern, II-44.
Men, Human side of, IV-250.
Greater New Yorker, The, IV-45.
Greatness, Halo of, I-88.
Greece, Education Free in, V-98.
visit to, III-185.
Greek Civilization, Ruin of, V-158.
Greeks, Commercial Instincts of, VIII-3.
Greeley, Horace, I-87, 156, 270, 320; II-196; III-355, 371; VI-310.
gives Bail for Jefferson Davis, I-268.
and Confederate Commissioners, VIII-218.
and the Governorship, II-183.
and Pickwick, IV-353.
as a Political Leader, IV-299.
and the Presidency, IV-387.
Green, Duff, IV-276.
Green Mountain Boys, IV-154.
Mountains, Republic of the, IV-157.
Greene, Gen. Nathanael, I-64; III-323; IV-137.
Greenback, The, II-73; VI-288.
Grotius, IV-174.
Grover, Martin, II-368.
Guizot on Washington, I-20.
Gustavus Adolphus, I-143.

H

Hadley, Arthur, V-90.
Hadrian and Astrologers, III-167.
Hague Conference, III-334.
Tribunal, The, II-100.
Hale, Eugene, VII-175, 177, 282.
Nathan, I-61; V-180; VIII-159.
Sir Matthew, V-118.
Half Moon and Mayflower, IV-12.
Hall of Fame, Dedication of, I-252.
Halleck, General, I-114.
Halliday, Rev. Dr., III-325.
Hamilton, Alexander, I-9, 12, 17, 26, 37, 43, 201; II-135; VII-190.
an Architect of Government, II-336.
and Burr, III-60.
and King's College, VII-295.
Statue of, I-43.
and Jefferson, Ideas of, VII-190.
and Washington, I-49.
Hampton Institute, V-300.
and Tuskegee, V-307.
Hancock, John, I-4, 12; VII-78.
Winfield Scott, IV-78, 117; VII-293.
Hanna, Mark, II-206, 219; VI-315, 336.
Memorial of Senator, VII-359.
Hannibal, I-120; III-152; VII-376.
Hanseatic League, VIII-4.
Hanson, John, VII-73.
Happy, How to Be, IV-380.
Harrison, Benjamin, III-167; VI-274, 314; VII-284.
Signer of Declaration of Independence, I-4.
for President, Speech Nominating, VI-3.
Hargreaves, James, III-175.
Harlan, John M., III-167.
Harlem Heights, First American Victory of Revolution, I-15.
Railroad, V-236.
Harmsworth, Alfred Charles, IV-351.
Harvard Dinners, V-14.
John, V-176.
Harvey, Dinner by Colonel, III-239.
Hassard, John R. G., I-164; III-357.
Havana, Assault Upon, VIII-69.
Havemeyer, Mayor, II-202; VI-123.
Haverstraw, I-viii.
Hawaii, VI-33; VII-346.
Hawaiian Islands, Annexation of, VII-349.
Hawkins, Anthony Hope, II-264.
Hawley, Joseph C., V-108.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, III-334.
Hay, John, I-164; II-98; III-358; VI-271; VIII-260.
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, VIII-193.
Hayes, Rutherford B., VI-273, 312; VII-285.
and Tilden, V-355.
Hayseed of Caricature, IV-334; VIII-197.
Head, The Big, V-65.
Hearse, Follow the, II-320; VI-62.
Hearst, William R., IV-351.
Heaven and Boston, IV-24.
Heidelberg, University of, V-173.
Helen and Paris, III-187.
Helper, Hinton Rowan, III-158.
Henley, Races at, IV-305.
Hennepin, Father, I-166.
Henry, Patrick, I-2; VI-89.
of Prussia, Prince, VII-4.
Hermes of Praxiteles, V-62.
Hero Worship, V-174.
Heroes, American, II-152.
Heroism and Heroes, III-287.
Herschell, Banquet to Lord, II-116.
Hessian Mercenaries, IV-144.
Hewitt, Abraham S., II-26, 202.
Higgins, Anthony, V-26, 47.
Frank W., VI-267.
Governor, and Judge Parker, VI-249.
Higher Education, The, V-141.
Highlander, Scotch, I-192.
Hildreth, Richard, III-357.
Hippocrates, V-134.
Hiram, Master Mason, VIII-212.
Historic Street, A, IV-22.
History, Three Crises in Our, VI-87.
Writing, VI-99.
Hitchcock, Frank H., VI-336.
Hoar, George F., VII-95, 97.
Memorial of Senator, VII-368.
Hobart, Garrett A., VI-315; VIII-267.
Memorial of Vice-president, VIII-267.
Hoffman House, II-159, 288.
Hog, The American, II-23; III-214.
Holland and Civil Liberty, IV-65.
Our Debt to, II-93.
Society, Banquet of, II-92.
Universities of, IV-174.
Hollander, Praise of the, III-313.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, II-259; V-339.
Holyoke College, V-208.
Holy Sepulcher, I-73.
Homburg, Mark Twain at, III-240.
Home Rule, I-32, 290, 296; VI-79, 358.
An American Principle, II-160.
in Ireland, II-159.
Homesteads, VII-268.

Honolulu, Distances from, VII-349.
Hooker, Gen. Joseph, I-89.
Hoosier Poet, The, IV-261.
Hope, Dinner to Anthony, II-264.
Hopkins, Captain, III-259.
Hoppin, Secretary of Embassy, II-375.
Horse Race, A French, VI-347.
Horseless Age, The, IV-307.
Hospitals, VIII-182.
Hotel Gibbon, VI-100.
"House Divided Against Itself," I-29, 86; III-302.
of Lords, IV-91.
"How to Make Money," II-260.
Howard, Bronson, VIII-219.
Gen. Oliver O., III-264.
Joseph, IV-271.
Howe, General, III-254.
Howe, Julia Ward, VIII-107.
Hudson, Hendrik, II-4; IV-6; VIII-56.
Hudson, First Steamboat on, I-198.
Highlands, III-253.
Importance of Line of, IV-137.
River, I-191.
Railroad, V-236.
The, and Romance, IV-170.
Hughes, Charles Evans, VIII-265.
Governor, and Primary Nominations, IV-374.
Huguenot, Praise of the, III-314.
Settlements, VIII-73.
Society, III-312.
Huguenots, The, I-vii, 243, 282.
"Human Bullets," VII-228.
Hundred Years, The Next, VIII-178.
Hungary, Heroic Struggle of, IV-222.
Hungry Club, Dinner of the, II-342.
Hunt, Richard M., I-96.
Wilson G., II-42.
Hurricane Point, III-310; VI-239.
Husted, James W., III-275; V-279; VI-207.
General, Memorial of, I-303.
Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, IV-22.
Hyde, Henry B., Statue of, VIII-287.
Hyde Park, III-183.

I

Idea, The Hamilton, V-110.
Ideals in Life, V-298.
Idiots, Gilded, V-34.
Idols, Broken, VII-305.
"If the Red Slayer," II-260.
Imagination, II-244.
Immigrants, Canvass for, IV-329.
Quarantine of, II-9.
Undesirable, I-33, 78, 149
Immigration, V-35.
Flood of, III-334.
and Labor Unions, VII-300.
Perils of, III-272.
"Immortality," favorite poem of Lincoln's, III-375.
Imperialism, Terror of, VI-144.
Improvements, Internal, VIII-199.
Inauguration of Washington, I-1.
Income Tax, VII-316.
Independent Club of Buffalo, II-332.
Independence, Declaration of, I-3, 41, 75, 98.
Indian, Good a dead, IV-39; V-303.
Students, V-303.
Territory, VII-83, 85, 143.
Indians in Indian Territory, VII-84.
Noted, VII-87.
India Rubber, Vulcanized, III-176.
Industries, Changes in, VII-306.
Interdependence of, VII-314.
and Politics, VIII-278.
Ingalls, Melville E., III-206.
Ingersoll, Robert G., III-113, 167; VI-275, 312.
Inland Waterways Congress, VIII-220.
Insurgents, Republican, VI-326; VIII-246, 264.
Intemperance without Drunkeness, V-255.
Interest Rates, VII-195.
International Arbitration, II-119.
Interstate Commerce Commission, VIII-222.
Invalides, Temple of the, I-109.
"Iphigenia," VII-377.
Ireland, I-288.
Cromwellian Conquest of, IV-179.
Irish Genius for Municipal Government, IV-21.
People, II-286.
Iron Duke, Tomb of, I-109.
Output of Great Britain and United States, III-309.
Production of, VIII-179.
Ironsides, Cromwell and his, V-117.
Iroquois, Federation of the, I-191.
Irrigation, VII-118, 126, 134.
Irving, Sir Henry, II-119; III-189; VIII-214.
Washington, IV-164.
Isabella of Castile, I-72.
Isthmian Canal, III-311; VI-230, 254.
Isthmus of Darien, VII-144
I Marquis, II-114.

J

Jackson, Andrew, III-169.
and the Union, I-133.
and Marshall, II-295.
Jacobin Sympathizers, VIII-328.
James, Colonel, III-259.
I, King, V-117.
Thomas L., Introduction by, IV.
Jamestown Exposition, VII-212.
First Church at, II-126.
Janssens, Zacharias, IV-174.
Japan, Banquet to Ambassador of, II-110.
Feudal, II-111.
and the Japanese, VI-293.
Open Market of, VI-36.
and the Pacific, VII-238.
Japanese, Wonderful Advance of, VII-237.
Jasper, Parson, and the Sun, III-81, 137.
Jay, John, I-18, 179; II-118; V-353.
Burned in Effigy, VIII-330.
Justice to Memory of, VIII-324.
Memorial of, I-282.
Seventieth Birthday of, III-222.
Treaty, Centennial of, II-226; VIII-325.
Jefferson, Joseph, VIII-219.
Thomas, I-5; II-179, 334; V-176; VII-282; VIII-296.
Jenkins, Case of Captain, III-51.
"Jersey Lilly," III-191.
Jesuit Fathers, I-166.
"Jethro Bass," VII-191.
Jingoes, American, II-152.
John Bull and Miss Columbia, II-59.
Johnson, Andrew, I-117; II-281; III-130, 228; VI-272, 311.
Nomination of, III-158.
Sir William, I-168.
Johnston, General Joseph, I-115.
Johnstone, Ann, I-viii.
Robert, I-viii.
Joint Traffic Association, VIII-269.
Joliet, Father, I-166.
Jones, Captain of Mayflower, IV-180.
Dr. John, V-135.
Paul, Remains of, II-66; IV-367.
Jouett, Admiral, VIII-116.
Journal of Commerce, III-168.
Journal, New York, VIII-155.
The Party, VIII-28.
Journalism a Liberal Profession, IV-283; V-328.
Personal, II-228.
Journalists, Quartette of, II-283.
Vitality of, IV-298.
Judges, Salaries of, VII-287.
Judgment and Luck, III-114.
Jumel Mansion, I-15; VIII-156.
Stephen, VIII-160.
Junius, V-318.
Jupiter, Libation to, III-185.
Olympian, I-106.
Jusserand, Jean Jules, II-102.
Justinian, Pandects of, V-28.
Jute, Cotton Bagging from, VII-301.

K

Kaiser, The German, II-108.
Kalakaua, King, VII-348.
Kane, Elisha Kent, IV-256.
Masonic Lodge, IV-252.
Kansas, Civil War in, III-295.
Kelly, John, IV-4.
Kelvin, Lord, II-347.
Kent, Chancellor, I-199.
Ketcham, John H., Memorial of, I-323.
Kildare, Earl of, I-295.
King, Rufus, I-9, 205.
of the World, The New, II-40.
Kings, Divine Right of, I-77.
Kingsley, Charles, II-128, 266.
Kingston, Address at, I-175.
Knickerbocker Trust Co., Run on, VII-219.
Knott, Proctor, and Duluth, IV-283.
Know-Nothing Party, VII-370.
Knox, Henry, I-17.
John, V-99.
Philander C., II-361.
and Roosevelt, IV-373.
Knyphausen, Gen., I-64.
Komura, Baron, II-110.
Kossuth, Louis, IV-222.
Memorial of, I-299.
Koster, Lawrence, IV-174.
Kruger, Emperor William's Telegram to, II-120.
K's, The Three, V-208.

L

Labor, Alien Contract, VI-265.
Bureau of, VI-266.
and Capital, IV-83; VIII-38.
Cheap, a Danger, V-209.
Convict, VI-265.
in England, VI-264.
Federation of, IV-43.

Labor, Organized, II-99.
Organization, II-348; VIII-33.
Problem, The, VII-361.
Republican Party, Friend of, VI-260.
Struggles, III-102.
Unions and Immigration, VII-300.
Laboulaye, M., IV-118.
Lafayette, General, I-57, 59, 98, 145; II-162; III-321.
Lake George, Monument at, I-166.
Lamar, Secretary, II-25.
Lamb, Charles, IV-32.
John, I-13.
La Montaigne, Dr., V-135.
Land League, I-294.
Lands, Public, in Hawaii, VII-355.
Language, The American, II-125.
Languages, The Dead, V-96.
The Modern, V-97.
La Rabida, Convent of, I-239, 241.
La Rochelle, Capture of, I-vii.
La Salle, I-166; II-102.
Latin, Speech in, V-90.
La Tour d'Auvergne, III-286; VIII-19.
Law, High-Licens , IV-96.
Lawyer, The Old, II-140.
a Politician, V-121.
Sphere of the, V-115.
The True, V-38.
Lawyers, Importance of, IV-313.
Government by, V-119.
Great, II-135; V-113, 116.
Prominent, V-30.
in War, IV-319.
Leader, The District, V-85.
The Party, V-84.
League of Friendship, I-6.
Learning, The New, V-19.
Lecture, Origin of the, II-259.
Lecturers, British, III-193.
Foreign, II-257.
Lecompton Constitution, III-295.
Lee at Appomattox, I-115.
and Grant, VIII-175.
Richard Henry, I-17.
Legislators, Hereditary, II-98.
Legislature of New York, Address before, I-129.
Leisler, Jacob, IV-177.
Leland Stanford, Jr., University, V-214.
Lenox Library, IV-342.
Leo XIII, Pope, III-108; VI-349; VIII-143.
"Let us have peace," I-128; III-230.
Lewis, Ida, IV-3.
Lexington, Farmers' Gun at, II-208.
Leyden, Siege of, IV-174.
Street, Plymouth, IV-22.
University of, IV-28.
Lhasa, Forbidden City of, III-107.
Libel, Law of, I-48; V-320.
Liberal Education, Army of, V-95.
Liberator, The, I-289.
Liberty, American, III-83; IV-144; V-182.
Anglo-Saxon, III-340.
Bell, III-277.
Capture of the, III-319.
Enlightening the World, I-96.
and Initiative, VIII-64.
Kindergarten of, VII-14.
Processes of, III-22.
Religious, in Rhode Island, III-322.
Sons of, I-13.
Statue of, II-252.
Strength of our, V-155.
Struggle for, V-178.
and Union," I-27; II-296.
What is?, II-253.
Libraries, Carnegie, IV-379.
in United States, I-232.
Library, Lincoln's, III-365.
Public, IV-342.
Lies, Ambassadorial, IV-349.
Life, Philosophy of, III-4, 124; IV-381.
Pleasures of, III-111.
Seven Stages of, III-139.
Strenuous and Simple, III-122.
Worth the Living," III-99.
Li Hung Chang, III-83; VIII-85.
"Light of Asia," III-200, 212.
Lincoln, Abraham, I-25, 29; II-297; III-141, 225.
an Able Politician, VIII-230.
Anecdotes of, I-92; IV-200; V-246; VI-276; VII-179.
and Artemus Ward, IV-201.
Birthday of, I-82; II-77, 82; IV-202.
and the Brigadier General, VII-179.
Centennial, III-363.
Characteristics of, VIII-226.
and Civil Service, VII-291.
in the Civil War, IV-249.
and the Constitution, III-15.
in Debate, III-298.
and Douglas Debate, III-290.
Description of, III-305.
a Development, III-290.
Dinners, Republican Club, IV-187, 194, 205, 220, 226, 245.

Lincoln, Early Life of, I-84; III-363; IV-196, 228.
in Fremont Campaign, III-300.
Not a Humorist, II-78.
and Jefferson Davis, VIII-227.
Keen Sense of Humor of, VIII-230.
Leader of the People, IV-198.
Lesson of, IV-229.
and Lord Lyons, III-155.
Lost Speech of, III-300.
and Mule Driver, I-92.
and Merrimac, V-246.
Nomination of, VI-310.
from the Plain People, III-376.
Political Principles of, III-369.
Prophetic Vision of, III-302.
Reminiscences, VIII-225.
and Slavery, III-157; V-82.
in a Slave Market, III-299.
as a Story Teller, III-374; VIII-229.
and the Union, III-373.
Liquor Question, IV-95, 120.
"Literary Fellers, Damned," III-93.
"Little Willie," III-34.
Living in Europe, Cost of, VI-380.
Livingston, Robert R., I-17, 179.
Luchon in the Pyrenees, VI-362.
Luck and Judgment, III-114.
Lucknow, Siege of, I-95.
Lucy, Henry W., II-273.
Lumbermen, VII-69.
Lumber Association, VII-265.
Lusitania, The, II-144.
Locomotive, Stephenson's, VIII-42.
Engineers, Brotherhood of, I-321; III-103; VIII-32.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Introduction by, I-v.
Logan, General John A., Statue of, I-274.
Log Cabin, The, I-157.
Lombard, James K., V-108.
London, Bishop of, II-123.
in Coronation Year, VIII-168.
Crowds, VIII-169.
Hospitality of, VIII-172.
The Social Center, III-80.
Londoners and Colonials, VIII-164.
Longevity, III-97, 108, 123, 165.
and Work, III-2.
Lookout Mountain, Hooker at, III-288.
Looting, III-83.
Lotos Club, II-116, 182, 248, 252, 256, 264; III-189, 192, 196; IV-343.
Lotos Club Dinner to Admiral Evans, II-142.
Dinner to Depew, II-127.
Lords, House of, VI-358.
Lorenzo the Magnificent, I-238.
Lotteries, I-200.
State, V-128.
Loudon, General, I-169.
Louis XIV, I-10.
Louisiana, Acquisition of, I-28, 174; II-180; VII-6.
Military School, I-134.
Lourdes, Shrine of, VI-364.
"Love's Labor's Lost," IV-1.
Lovejoy, Owen, III-299.
Low, Seth, VI-164.
Lowell, James Russell, I-xx; II-375; III-43.
Lyman, General Phineas, I-169.
Lyon, Captain, VIII-107.
Lyons, Lord, I-91.

M

McCann, Dennis, Remains of, III-8.
McCarthy, Justin, I-xx; II-159.
Macaulay and Our Institutions, I-148.
Macaulay's New Zealander, III-193; IV-36, 38.
Maclaren, Ian, II-256; IV-181.
McCune, Charles, II-73.
McClurg, Capt., V-57.
McClellan, George B., I-152; II-201.
McGregor, Grant at Mount, I-128.
Machine in Politics, I-306.
McKinley, William, II-82, 221, 298; VI-115, 315; VIII-49.
McKinley, Assassination of, VIII-49, 282.
Death of, II-57; VI-204.
and Hanna, VII-362, 365.
and Roosevelt, II-177; VI-46.
Contrast between, IV-373.
M'Millan, James, VIII-278.
Memorial of Senator, VIII-278.
McPherson, General, Death of, I-279.
McTyeire, Bishop, V-229.
MacVeagh, Wayne, I-xi; III-134.
Madison, James, I-9.
Madison Square Garden, VI-129.
Magna Charta, I-3.
Mahan, Alfred T., IV-369.
"Maid of Athens," III-186.
Mail Service, Railway, VIII-237.
Subsidies for, VII-32.
Steamers, Subsidized, VII-33.
Trains, New York and Chicago, VIII-235.

Mails, British, VII-34.
Rural Delivery of, IV-309; VI-289.
United States, VII-34, 44.
Maine, The Battleship, VIII-77.
Widows and Orphans of the, VIII-94.
Mamertine Prison, VI-348.
Man on Horseback, IV-237.
Like a Locomotive, III-352.
a Social Animal, IV-340.
Seven Ages of, V-142; VII-377.
The Sure-footed, III-65.
Without a Country, I-301.
Who Laughs, III-55.
Manassas, Battle of, I-135.
Manchuria, Struggle for, II-209.
Manhattan Day at World's Fair, VIII-119.
Island, Purchase of, II-3; IV-294.
Settlers of, IV-175.
Manila, Battle of, V-250.
Dewey's Victory at, IV-218.
Surrender of, VII-5.
Mansfield, Lord, and Slavery, III-294.
Manufacturers, American, VI-198.
Manufactures, American, VI-44; VIII-183.
Marathon Race, The, VIII-106.
Life a, IV-378.
Marble Room, The, VII-291, 324.
Marbury vs. Madison, V-352.
March to the Sea, I-133, 137; III-288.
"Marching through Georgia," I-140.
Marcy, William L., I-205.
Marion, The Huguenot, III-317.
Mark Twain, II-124; III-127.
Marquette, Voyages of, I-166; II-102.
Marroquin, Vice-president, VII-146, 157.
Marshall, John, II-79, 294; IV-246; V-354; VIII-82.
Rev. Dr., III-324.
Mars Hill, III-148, 185.
Marston Moor, I-226.
Mason, Jeremiah, VII-191.
and Slidell, II-118.
Masonic Fraternity Dinner, VIII-209.
Masonry, Foundation of, VIII-21.
Masons, Gathering of, IV-357.
Prominent, IV-253.
Massachusetts, Growth of, VII-98.
Massasoit, Chief, IV-39.
Mather, Rev. Cotton, II-135; IV-69.
Matthews, James N., II-73.
Mauretania, The, II-144.
Mausoleum, Grant's, I-109.
Maybrick, Mrs., Release of, VI-385.
Mayflower, The, I-75, 194; III-268.
Ancestry, IV-2.
Compact of the, III-321; IV-13.
Furniture in the, IV-15, 71.
Journal of the, IV-58.
Sailing of the, IV-27.
Mayhew, Jonathan, V-179.
Mayor, An Indignant, III-8.
Mechanic, The American, V-199.
Medical College, Syracuse, V-131.
Medicine, Father of, V-134.
History of, V-134.
Profession of, V-138, 337.
Progress in, V-340.
and Surgery, Advance in, V-129.
Medico-Chirurgical College, V-330, 334.
Mediterranean, Right to Navigate, II-146.
Memorial Day, I-245, 279; VIII-105.
"Men Created Equal," III-303.
as Leaders, III-22.
Masterful, V-34.
Self-made, V-179, 215, 230.
Treatment of, III-9.
Merchants of New York, II-2.
Merrimac and Monitor, V-245.
Message Around the World, VIII-113.
Methodism, III-247.
Methuselah's Age, VIII-323.
Metropolitan Museum, Origin of, IV-85.
Mexico, Petroleum in, VII-302.
Productive Power of, VIII-253.
Middle Ages, Fairs in, IV-290.
People in, V-152.
Temple, IV-349.
Middlemen, Combination of, IV-333.
Miles, Dinner to General, II-149.
Milk or Champagne, IV-334.
Militarism, VI-152.
Military Establishments, Cost of, VIII-5.
Influence, Fears of, I-139.
Mill Boy of the Slashes, III-364.
Miller, Justice, II-370.
and Fugitive Slaves, VIII-62.
Millerite Excitement, II-32.
Millikin, Henry, VIII-37.
Millionaire, Boast of the, V-164.
Misfortunes of a, III-91.
Milton, John, on Cromwell, I-19.
Minerva of the Acropolis, I-106.
Ministers, New England, III-337; V-193.
Miracles, Modern, VI-366.
Missions in Hawaii, VII-347.
Missionaries, Mormon, VII-100.
Missionary, A New England, III-266.

Mississippi, Ship, Sent for Kossuth, I-300.
Missouri Compromise, The, I-85; VII-385.
Law Alumni, Banquet of, II-134.
Soldiers' Home, VIII-103.
Mitchell, Chauncey Root, I-viii.
Rev. Justus, I-ix.
Martha, I-viii.
Major Matthew, I-ix.
Mohammed II, Hand of, III-184.
Mohawk Indians, I-192.
Valley, VIII-221.
"Molly Maguires," II-290.
Money, Fight for Sound, VII-384.
Honest, IV-77.
Misappropriation of, III-7.
Moniteur, The, IV-277.
Monitor and Merrimac, V-246.
Monmouth, Battle of, III-280, 320.
Monopoly, II-6.
Monroe Doctrine, The, II-22, 29, 298; III-121; IV-121, 320; VI-75, 375; VII-148; VIII-80.
Montauk Club, III-1, 5, 12, 18, 27, 35, 46, 59, 67, 76, 86, 97, 107, 116, 125, 138, 151, 165.
Montcalm, General, I-171.
Monte Carlo, Visit to, VI-353.
Montesquieu, II-137.
Monticello a Mecca, VII-283; VIII-133.
Montpellier, University of, V-52.
Morgan, Edwin D., II-278; VI-318.
Gen. Daniel, IV-137.
J. Pierpont, VI-377; VII-219.
John Tyler, VII-375.
Morley, John, II-210; III-179.
Mormonism, VII-100, 102, 108.
Morocco, Tribute to, II-146.
Morrill Bill of 1861, VII-383.
Tariff Law, VI-142.
Morris, Gouverneur, I-9, 177, 205.
Robert, I-9; VII-190.
Roger, I-15; VIII-138, 158.
Gov., and Washington, IV-143.
Morse, Samuel F. B., I-255.
Morton's Advice, II-90.
Morton for President, VI-9.
Moslems, Expulsion from Spain of, I-238.
Mountains, Deforesting of, VII-68.
Mount Vernon, I-13, 14, 231; VIII-133, 157.
Mugwumps, IV-179; V-66.
Mukden, II-209.
Mulligan, Story of General, III-14.
Multi-Millionaires, VII-255.
Municipal Problem, New York's, VI-173.
Munkacsy, Dinner to Mr., II-254.
Myths, Exploded, IV-37.

N

Nantes, Anniversary of Edict of, III-312.
Napoleon I, III-152.
and Civilization, VII-117.
and Cromwell, IV-315.
and Lafayette, I-104.
and Madame Jumel, VIII-160.
and the Press, IV-277; V-321.
at the Pyramids, I-11.
Relics of, VIII-161.
Return from Elba, VI-34.
at St. Cyr, I-112, 120.
at St. Helena, IV-317.
and a Tariff, VII-295.
on Washington, I-20, 23.
at Waterloo, VII-376.
Napoleon III, II-378; IV-318.
and Bismarck, VI-370.
Naseby, I-226.
National Bank, First, VII-190.
Banking Laws, VII-240.
Intelligencer, IV-282.
Nations, Crises of, V-165
The Paradox of, I-288.
Population and Wealth of, VII-185.
Naval Appropriation Bill, VII-162.
Strength of Nations, VII-185.
Navy, The American, IV-366.
an Insurance Policy, VII-182.
Need of a, IV-322.
Record of Our, VII-169.
Nebuchadnezzar, Library of, III-152.
Needle-gun, Prussian, IV-318.
Negro Students, V-303.
Voters, VI-154.
Neilson, Adelaide, as Juliet, VIII-218.
Nelson, Knute, VII-96, 173.
William, I-x, xii; II-278; III-326.
Neutral Ground, The, I-50; III-253.
Nevada, State of, VII-95, 96, 97, 105.
New Amsterdam, I-196.
Doctors in, V-135.
New England Families, IV-69.
Society of Brooklyn, IV-45, 54.
54.
of New York, IV-1, 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 26, 32, 38.
of Pennsylvania, IV-60.
of Washington, IV-67.

Newell, Prof. F. H., VII-124.
Newnham College, V-208.
New Idea, The, VI-305.
New Mexico, Territory of, VII-83, 94, 111, 143.
Newspaper, The, VIII-12.
Circulation, IV-296.
Early, II-228.
First American, VIII-27.
First Daily in New York, IV-284.
Making a, II-228.
Mississippi, II-322.
Power of the, IV-270.
Newspapers in 1789, VIII-28.
in 1889, VIII-28.
English and American, II-117.
in Hawaii, VII-351.
London, VI-357.
New York City, Advantages of, VI-174; VIII-307.
Athletic Club, IV-302.
Banks, VIII-16.
Bar Association, IV-313.
Building at World's Fair, VIII-123.
Collector of, III-42.
Coming of British Fleet, I-177.
Captured by English, IV-176.
Cosmopolitanism of, III-216; VI-130.
a Distributing Center, II-5.
Free School Society, IV-176.
Hostility to, III-39.
Greater, IV-45; VI-117.
Mayor of, II-203; IV-100.
Medical Society of, V-127.
Merchants of, II-2.
The Metropolis, IV-52, 81.
Normal College, V-265.
Our First Capital, II-172.
Press Club, Banquet, II-239; IV-267, 272; VIII-9.
the real Capital, IV-112.
in Revolution, I-12.
Supremacy of, II-3; VIII-312.
Washington's entry into, I-14.
Yankee Invasion of, IV-10.
New York State Battle Ground of Revolution, I-195.
Canals of, I-198.
Centennial of, I-175.
Constitution of, I-185.
Convention of, I-178.
Education in, I-201.
the Empire State, IV-7.
First Assembly, I-175.
Governors of, I-259; II-199.
a Laggard for Liberty, III-359.
New York State,
Legislature of, I-197; V-87.
Newspapers a Century ago, I-207.
Politics in, I-203.
Provincial Congress in, I-176.
Theater in, I-201.
Woman's Rights in, I-200.
New World, Discovery of, II-46.
Niagara Falls, II-75; VIII-116.
Nicaragua, Expedition against, I-318.
Nightingale, Florence, IV-3; VIII-314.
Nile, River, VII-124.
Nineteenth Century, Achievements of, V-259.
Club, VIII-149.
Nixon, Louis, VII-38.
"Nobility, Our Old," IV-144.
Nordau and Degeneration, III-23.
Nordhoff, Charles, I-164; III-358.
Normal College, New York, V-265.
Normandy and America, V-70.
North Carolina and the Union, I-12.
North, Lord, 148.
Pole, Surrender of the, VIII-257.
Northcliffe, Lord, IV-351.
Northwest Territory, The, VII-135.
Virginia's gift of, I-28.
Note, Never endorse a, V-283.
Novel, The Scotch, II-262.
Novels, French, III-174.
Norwalk Church, Anniversary of, III-332.
Norwich University, V-247.
Nullification, IV-183.
Nunez, President, VII-151, 155.

O

Oakley, Cornelius, III-257.
Obelisk, Central Park, I-107.
Ocean Purified by Storm, IV-212.
O'Connell, Daniel, I-289.
Odell, Benjamin B., Jr., II-182; VI-187, 218, 282.
John, III-257.
Offenbach, Jacques, II-128.
Office, Applicants for, VII-292.
Public, V-77.
Oglesby, Gen., IV-265.
O'Gorman, Richard, IV-384.
Ohio, Politics in, II-97.
Society, II-96; III-214.
Oklahoma, Territory of, VII-83, 94, 143.
Old Age, II-251.
Glory," I-150; II-83; IV-230.
Ironsides, I-297.

Oleomargarine Bill, VII-52.
Olmutz, Lafayette at, I-105.
Olympian Games, V-63.
Omar Khayyam and Hunyadi Janos, II-372.
"On to Richmond," I-136, 154, 159.
Oneida Republican Organization, VIII-259.
"Open Door" in China, VII-177.
Optimism, American, II-354.
Orators are Actors, All, VIII-216.
Great, IV-197.
Oratory, Gift of, V-79.
Need of, V-217.
Ordinance of 1787, I-8.
Oregon, Acquisition of, III-159.
Osler, Doctor, III-122.
Osten Manifesto, III-308.
Otis, James, I-2.
"Our Chauncey," After-Dinner Rhymes, V-1.
Oyama, Marshal General, I-250.

P

Pacific, American Steamers on the, VII-231.
Coast, Hawaii Necessary to, VII-350.
Markets of the, VII-13.
Packard's Business College, V-272, 276.
Palmer, A. M., VIII-131.
Edmund, III-257.
Grace, I-ix.
John M., III-300.
William, I-ix.
Palmerston, Lord, III-23.
Pamphlet Education, V-222.
Panama Canal, VI-230, 254; VII-144, 234, 365.
City of, VII-150.
and Colombia, VI-230, 254.
Republic of, VII-153, 160.
Pandects, The, V-116.
Pan-American Exposition, VIII-40.
Panic, Annual, III-50.
of 1857, VII-192.
of 1873, II-9; VII-192.
of 1907, VIII-222.
Panics, Financial, III-344; V-270; VI-113.
Universal, VII-240.
Paper, Invention of, I-239.
Paradox of History, Grant the, I-120.
Parties, Contrast of, VI-177.
in popular Government, V-79.
Partisanship and Patriotism, VI-90.
Partridge, Alden, V-247.
Paris and Americans, III-215.
Chamber of Commerce, II-56, 62.
Crowds, VIII-170.
Exposition, IV-288.
Independence Day in, III-274.
on July 14, VI-370.
and Revolution, VII-307.
Treaty of, I-173; VII-10.
Parker, Alton B., II-123.
Theodore, II-259; III-334.
Parkhurst, Dr., IV-47.
Parnell, Charles Stewart, I-287.
John Henry, I-287.
"Parnellism and Crime," II-290.
Patriotism and Education, V-220.
Patriots, Four Preeminent, IV-146.
Patterson, Thomas M., VII-120, 125, 129, 131, 167, 173.
Paul on Mars Hill, III-186.
Paulding, John, I-55, 62, 66.
Pauncefote, Lord, VIII-193.
Peace Mission of America, III-49.
Treaty, Russo-Japanese, II-110.
Peaches, American, VIII-295.
Pearl of Antilles, II-60.
Harbor, Hawaii, VII-350.
Peasant and His Pipe, VI-362.
Peasants in Sixteenth Century, V-178.
Pecos River, VII-126.
Peekskill, I-i; II-319; V-279.
Academy, Semi-centennial of, V-309.
Bay, IV-167.
Mr. Blaine and, VIII-217.
Church, Anniversary of, III-324.
Fourth of July at, III-265.
Opera House, VIII-127.
in Revolution, VIII-128.
Peel, Sir Robert, VIII-15.
Pennsylvania, Rebellion in, I-47.
Pensioners, I-146.
People, Rule of the, VI-295.
the Source of Power, I-26.
People's Government, II-156.
Wars, II-156.
Perry, Commodore, II-147; III-323.
Pessimist, The, VIII-181.
Peter the Hermit, II-46.
Petroleum, Production of, VII-302.
Pettigrew, Senator, and Hanna, VII-364.
Pettus, Memorial of Senator, VII-375.
Pharaoh, Mummy of, V-338.
Postmaster-general of, VIII-238.
Phelps, Edward J., II-377; V-15.

Philadelphia, New England Dinner in, IV-60.
One Hundred Years Ago, IV-51.
Philip II of Spain, VII-144.
Philipse, Mary, I-15; VIII-138, 158.
Phillips, Wendell, I-158; II-259, 308; III-112; IV-281; VI-244; VIII-216.
Philippine Islands, II-37, 157; VI-50.
Administration of, VI-192.
Conquest of the, V-252.
Government of, VII-1.
Independence of the, VI-253.
Peace in, IV-235.
Problem of, III-82.
School Teachers in, VI-194.
Taft in the, VI-302.
Philistines, IV-169; V-227.
Philosopher, A Pessimistic, IV-115.
Phœnix, Arizona, VII-128.
Physicians, Talk to, V-131.
Pie for Dessert, II-16.
Pierce Business College, V-285.
Pierpont, Edwards, IV-360.
Pierpont, Rev. James, V-63.
Pike, James S., I-164; III-358.
Pilgrim Fathers, II-94.
Descendants of, IV-14.
and Puritans, IV-68.
Pilgrims, The, I-194, 242.
Dinner by the, II-374.
and Mexicans, VII-116.
as Revolutionists, III-268.
Society of the, II-123; IV-354.
Pinafore, II-128; III-190.
Pinchot, Gifford, VII-264, 269.
Pine, Scarcity of White, VII-267.
Pioneer a State Builder, IV-228.
Pitt and Free Trade, VII-294.
"Plain People," IV-47.
Plato, Academy of, V-169.
Platt, Thomas C., II-197.
Amen Corner and Senator, II-193; VI-282.
Breakfast by Senator, VI-268.
Dinner to Senator, II-212.
Political Career of Senator, VI-269.
Pliny and the Dutch, IV-174.
"Plumed Knight," VI-312.
Plutarch's Lives, II-332.
Plymouth Colony, II-333.
Monument at, IV-22.
Rock, II-94; IV-71.
Poet, Every American a, III-213.
Police, The London, VIII-169.
New York, VI-168.
Political Emoluments, III-41.
Speaking, II-207.
Politics, Friendships of, VI-56.
of the Future, V-272.
Game of, III-69.
Ignorance of, IV-79.
and Politicians, V-77.
Processes of, III-21.
Young Men in, VI-58.
Pollock Case, VII-316.
Polo, Marco, I-71.
Polygamy and Mormonism, VII-371.
in Utah, VII-106, 108.
Pompadour, Madame de, III-233.
Pope, Balloting for the, IV-279.
Leo XIII, Audience with, VI-349; VIII-143.
Popular Government and Parties, V-79.
Sovereignty, First Declaration of, I-177.
Population, Circles of, VIII-307.
Population of Hawaii, VII-350.
Populist Frenzy, The, II-71.
Port Arthur, II-209.
Porter, Horace, Introduction by, II.
Gen. Horace, IV-367.
Noah, V-16, 21, 88.
Retirement of President, V-13.
Portland Exposition, VII-213.
Porto Rico, II-157; VI-50; VII-330, 341.
Description of, VII-17.
Trade with, VII-16.
Postal Savings Banks, VII-273.
Post Office, Roman, VIII-239.
Potomac, Army of the, I-114, 143.
Potter, Bishop, II-26.
Power, Conservatism of, VIII-96.
Two Curses of, VI-123.
Prague, White Hill at, I-143; V-181.
Prayer in Caterpillar Time, IV-19; VIII-294.
President, Date of Inauguration, IV-119.
Power of the, I-236; II-337; III-130.
Salary of the, VII-281.
Veto Power of, V-351.
Presidential Race, Withdrawal from, VI-1.
Presidents I Have Known, III-154.
Poverty of Our, I-112.
and Senator Allison, VII-387.
of United States, I-30.
Press, American, VI-173.
Association, New York, V-317.
Bureau, Hanna's, VII-362.
Club, Chicago, IV-286.
Club, New York, II-239, 242; III-211; IV-267, 272.

Press, Liberty of the, IV-276; V-317; VIII-29.
the Mirror of Life, IV-278; V-322.
Prices, Alarm of High, III-171.
Priest, Major, VI-109.
Primary, The, III-145.
Canvass, Expense of a, IV-374.
Nominations, IV-374.
Prince Henry and Miss Columbia, II-59.
Princess, A German, V-345.
Princeton Club, II-303.
Republican Club, V-122.
Printing, Invention of, I-69, 239.
"Prisoner of Zenda," II-266.
Proclamation of Emancipation, I-90.
Produce Exchange, New York, VIII-1.
Producers and Consumers, VII-303.
Progress, American, VIII-184.
the Evangel and Nemesis of the Race, V-266.
Motors of Modern, V-99.
Property of the World, I-147.
Prosperity, American, III-37.
and High Prices, VII-245.
National, II-28.
Protection in England, VI-383.
Policy of, VI-262.
Principle of, VI-183.
Results of, VII-302.
Spectre of, II-274.
Protective Tariff League, VI-71.
Union, Working Women's, III-339.
Psi Upsilon Fraternity, V-93, 105.
Public Plunder, Cohesive Power of, III-168.
Utilities Bill, III-132.
Pulitzer, Joseph, II-252; VIII-31.
Pulpit, New England, III-14, 337.
and Politics, VI-104.
Punch, London, II-276.
Puritan and Cavalier, I-74; IV-13.
Church, IV-40.
and Dutchman, IV-18.
Financial Transaction, IV-41.
and Hollander, Similarity of, IV-65.
Praise of the, III-314.
Statue of, II-271.
Puritans in Holland, II-94.
and the Indians, IV-33.
Spirit of the, I-131.
The, I-194; II-135.
Putnam, Israel, III-257.
Pyrrhus, III-57.

Q

Quadri-Centennial Celebration, VIII-304.
Quakers, The, I-243.
Quarantine for Emigrants, II-9.
Quartette, A Journalistic, IV-18.
Quebec, Fall of, I-172.
Queen of the Sandwich Islands, VII-348.
Victoria's Jubilee, VIII-163.

R

Race Question, V-187.
Races, Assimilation of, I-235.
Automobile, IV-307.
Hudson Steamboat, IV-306.
Mixing of, IV-385.
Northern, VII-12.
Radicalism, III-129.
Radicals and Conservatives, VI-360.
Railroad Accident, VIII-204.
Beginnings, III-170.
Cars, Heating of, V-70.
Christian Association, III-347.
Commission, III-132; VI-199, 291; VIII-46.
Consolidation, V-239.
Mail Service, National, VIII-233.
Management, VI-179.
Men, Antipathy to, III-39.
Men, Unions of, VI-292.
New York Central, V-33.
Rate Bill, VII-386.
Rates, IV-331; VIII-222.
a Republic, III-350.
Stocks, VIII-205.
System, Development of American, V-236.
Traffic, American, II-52.
Foreign, II-53.
Railroads and Agriculture, IV-328.
Capitalization of, VIII-205.
Early, VIII-41.
in Germany, VII-42; VIII-37.
Government Control of, VII-386.
Ownership of, VI-300; VIII-37.
in Hawaii, VII-356.
and the Public, VIII-36.
Taxes on, VII-319.
of United States, VIII-42.
Wealth Invested in, VII-243.
Rail-splitter, The, III-364.
Rainfall in Appalachian Region, VII-67.

Rampolla, Cardinal, VI-379.
Randolph, Edmund, I-9; V-179.
John, II-105.
Rank, Barriers of, V-34.
Ratification Meeting, Republican, VI-186.
Ravaillac the Assassin, IV-352.
Rawlins, John A., I-119.
Joseph L., VII-104.
Raymond, Henry J., I-xix, 164; II-279; V-113.
Rebellion, War of the, I-143.
Reciprocity in American Politics, II-18; VIII-78.
Reclamation Service, VIII-253.
Reconstruction, Problems of, III-229.
Red Cloud, II-271.
Cross Society, VIII-314.
Flag, The, I-148.
Tape, Official, VIII-237.
Redwood Forests, VII-66.
Referendum, The, III-144.
Reforesting, VIII-349.
Reformation, The, V-99.
Reformer, A, III-94.
Regiment, A Colored, IV-75.
Rehan, Ada, VIII-215.
Reid, Whitelaw, I-164; III-214, 362; IV-343.
Reign of Terror, I-78.
Religion, Freedom of, I-184.
and Politics, VI-67.
Reminiscences, Editorial, IV-299.
Reporter and Interviewer, IV-279.
The Lady, IV-269.
The Newspaper, IV-268; VIII-10.
Reporters, American and English, II-124.
English, IV-354; VI-357.
Republic, American, I-2.
Filipino, VII-2.
Grand Army of, I-245.
Growth of the, I-36.
Periods of the, IV-158.
of Sovereign States, The First, II-94.
Republican Association, Business Men's, VI-64.
Club, New York, II-77, 177, 273; IV-187, 194, 205, 220, 226, 232, 240, 245; VI-58, 329.
Depew Dinner, IV-215.
Inaugural Address, VI-121.
Lincoln Dinner, IV-187, 194, 205, 220, 226, 245.
Roosevelt Dinner, IV-211.
Creed, Two Principles of, VI-75.
Republican Editorial Association, IV-232, 298.
Insurgents, VIII-246, 264.
Leaders and Workers, VI-304.
National Committee, VI-336.
National Convention, Speech at, VI-15.
Party, The, I-94; II-219; III-307; IV-187; VI-26, 177; VII-370.
Prosperity, VIII-241.
Ratification Meeting, VI-142.
Republics not Ungrateful, VII-186.
South American, IV-369, 376.
Reputation and Fame, I-257.
Resources, American, III-37.
"Return to Sanity," VI-234.
Revenue from Forests, VII-65.
Reform Meeting, IV-107.
Sources of, VII-318.
System, Our, VI-27.
Revolution, The American, I-10; V-118.
First Blood of, IV-154.
The French, I-19, 104, 230.
Principles of the, IV-140.
Rhode Island, Battle of, III-318, 320.
and Religious Liberty, I-184; III-322.
in the Revolution, III-319.
and the Union, I-12.
Rhodes, Cecil, Legacies of, III-90.
Richelieu, Cardinal, I-143.
Rich Man, A, II-26.
Richmond Borough Hall, Cornerstone of, VIII-56.
Dean, I-204; II-184.
On to, I-136, 154, 159.
Ridder, Herman, II-105.
Riley, James Whitcomb, IV-261.
Rio Grande River, VII-126, 133.
Riots of 1863, VIII-37.
Ripley, George, I-164; III-334, 357.
Rip Van Winkle, III-116.
Rivers in Appalachian Region, VII-67.
Roads, Good, VIII-198, 296.
Roberts, Marshall O., II-42.
Robertson, Andrew H., VI-311.
Robertson's Plays, VIII-218.
Robinson, Beverly, I-52.
Lucius, IV-4.
Pastor, III-83; IV-23.
William E., III-358.
Rochambeau, Marshal de, I-52, 56; II-102.
"Rock of Chickamauga," I-279.
Rockefeller, John D., IV-378.
Jr., II-187.
Roentgen Rays, II-246; VIII-211.

Rogers, Sherman S., II-73.
Henry W., II-73.
Roland, Madame, I-162; III-61.
Roman Matron, The, IV-258.
Romayne, Dr. Nicholas, V-127.
"Rome, All Roads to," II-4.
Visit to, VI-343.
Romeo and Juliet, III-111.
Roolandson, Adam, IV-175.
Roosevelt, Theodore, II-101, 224, 299, 361; III-116; IV-211, 365.
and Dewey, VI-20.
and Fairbanks, Jubilee of, II-206.
for Governor, Notification Speech, VI-23.
for Governor, Nomination of, VI-17.
and his Indiscretions, III-310; VI-240.
President, IV-58; VII-183.
and the Republican Party, III-307.
Training of, VI-258.
Usurpations of, VI-233.
for Vice-president, VI-41, 316.
a Woman's Ideal, VI-279.
Root, Elihu, VII-319; VIII-265, 282.
As Secretary of War, II-165, 169.
Reception to, IV-371.
Rosebery, Lord, I-xx, xxii; II-39, 118; III-150; IV-353; VI-355.
Rothschilds, House of, VI-235.
Rough Riders, Regiment of, I-275; II-211; IV-239; VI-21.
Rowing Club, First College, IV-303.
R's, The Three, V-218.
"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," III-120.
Runnymede, Barons at, II-48; IV-148; V-28, 117.
Field of, I-3.
Rural Free Delivery, VII-278.
Russell Sage Hall, Dedication of, V-201.
Russia, Hebrews in, III-269.
and Progress, VIII-202.
Representative Government in, III-143.
Revolution in, II-207.
Titles in, IV-148.
Russian Fleet in New York, II-106.
and Spies, V-323.
Russo-Japanese War, II-65; VII-171.
Rutledge, John, I-9.
Rutter, James H., I-xvii.
Ryke's Patent, I-viii.

S

Safe Deposits in Temples, VIII-14.
Sage, Henry W., V-175.
Russell, V-203.
St. Andrew's Society, IV-181.
St. Cloud, III-64.
St. David's Society, Dinner of, IV-178.
St. Gaudens, Augustus, II-268.
St. George, Birthday of, III-1.
St. Louis Ladies, Speech to, VIII-110.
Merchants' Exchange, VIII-100.
University Club of, IV-264.
St. Marc, Lions of, V-65.
St. Nicholas Society, II-92.
Semi-centennial of, IV-171.
St. Patrick's Day, II-288.
Friendly Sons of, IV-382.
Society, II-285, 288.
St. Sophia, Mosque of, III-184.
Sala, George Augustus, III-192.
Salaries, Increase of, VII-280.
in Hawaii, VII-353.
of Rulers, VII-287.
Salisbury, Lord, I-92; II-23.
Saloon, Peril of the, III-271.
Saloons, Liquor, VI-81.
Salvation Army, II-318.
Salt Lake City, III-31.
Sampson and Schley, IV-368.
Sanitary Commission, VIII-315.
Santiago, Battle of, VI-42.
Saratoga, Battle of, I-52, 100; III-319.
Convention at, VI-97, 175, 317.
Mass Meeting at, VI-242.
Oration at, I-143.
Savings Bank System, VII-276.
Growth of, V-295.
Savoie, The, II-144.
Saxe, John G., V-107.
Schley and Sampson, IV-368.
Dinner to Admiral, II-155.
Schmittberger and the Somnambulist III-173.
School, The Common, II-95.
of Despair, I-111.
Manual Training, V-156.
Schools in Hawaii VII-347, 350.
in Porto Rico, VII-339.
System of Free, II-323.
Schoolmen, The, V-188, 227.
Schooner, The Prairie, III-209.
Schultz, Jackson S., II-357.
Schuyler, Philip, I-205.
Scotch-Irish Race, VIII-277.

Scott, General, and the Soup, II-152.
John Morin, I-195.
Thomas A., V-240.
Sea-coast, our Long, VII-165.
Sea Power, Influence of, II-65; IV-369; VII-169.
Search, Right of, II-230.
Seasons Eliminated, III-101.
Seattle, Exposition at, VII-210, 215.
Secretary of the Treasury, Defence of, VII-218.
Securities, Contraction of, II-20.
Sedan, Anniversary of, VI-363; VIII-165.
Battle of, I-121.
Seminary, Willard, V-201.
Senate, Committees of the, VII-324.
Finance Committee, VII-323.
The French, VII-137.
Giants of the, VII-315, 369.
Power of the, VII-136.
United States, III-88.
Address in, I-317, 323, 330.
Senators, Election of, III-73.
by Direct Vote, VII-58.
Labors of, III-71.
Old, III-89.
A Tammany, III-55.
Seventh Regiment in the Civil War, II-129.
March of the, II-357; VIII-70.
Review of, VIII-68.
and the Spanish War, VIII-69.
Seven Years' War, I-233.
Seward, William H., I-89, 202; II-281, 283; VI-310, 319.
and Lincoln, III-371.
Weed, and Greeley, I-305; II-195.
Sewell, Memorial of Senator, VIII-272.
William J., VIII-272.
Seymour, Horatio, I-90, 204; II-130, 183.
Shackleton, Dinner to Lieutenant, VIII-256.
Shakespeare and the Bible, II-187.
Birthday of, III-1.
Myriad-minded, VIII-118.
and the Stage, VIII-215.
Sharpe, George H., I-308.
Shaw, Leslie M., VI-247.
Sheehan, William F., I-308.
Sheffield Scientific School, V-21.
Shelburne, Lord, II-118; IV-151.
Sheldon, George R., VI-336.
Shepard, Mr., VI-163.
Sheridan, General Philip, I-116.
Sherman Anti-trust Law, VI-148, 212, 292.
James S., II-361.
Introduction by, VI.
John, VI-273.
Captain John, I-ix, 130; II-270.
Rev. John, I-130; II-270.
Rev. Josiah, I-ix; IV-131.
Martha, I-ix.
Roger, I-ix, 9, 17, 130; VII-373.
Roger Minott, VII-374.
Samuel, I-180.
Gen. W. T., I-92, 114; II-269; III-224; IV-123.
and Ada Rehan, VIII-215.
Anecdotes of, I-131; II-166, 720.
at Bull Run, I-135.
Death of, I-142.
First Service of, I-133.
Foresight of, I-135.
and Grant, II-244.
and Lincoln, VIII-227.
no Politician, I-140.
a Puritan, I-130.
at Shiloh, I-136.
Memorial of, I-129.
Statue of, II-269.
at West Point, I-132.
Shiloh, Battle of, I-136.
Grant at, I-122.
Shipping, German, VII-42.
Shipyards, American, VII-36.
Shirley, Governor, I-168.
Shirt, Song of the, V-210.
Shotgun, Gospel of the, V-303.
Sigsbee, Capt. and the Maine, VIII-97.
"Silas Lapham," IV-70.
Silliman, Anniversary of Benjamin D., III-218.
Benjamin, Sr., I-xix; V-113.
Silver, Free Coinage of, II-36, VI-93; VII-383.
and Gold, VI-106.
Sing Sing, Address at, III-249, 260.
Six Nations, I-192.
Sixteen to One, Burial of, VI-43.
Skinners in Revolution, I-50.
Slave Oligarchy, I-246.
Power, Strength of the, III-295.
Slavery, I-86.
Abolition by Purchase, IV-42.
Doom of, V-117.
and Free Labor, III-290.
Girls in, VI-169.
in Northwest Territory prohibited, I-7.

Sleepy Hollow Church, I-55.
Sloane, Geo. B., I-308.
William D., V-128.
Smalley, George W., I-164; VI-360.
Smallpox in Porto Rico, VII-340.
Smile, The Taft, V-109.
Smith, Adam, IV-378.
College, V-208, 269.
Sidney, III-308.
Smoking Song, V-108.
Smoot, Reed, VII-269.
"Snake of Disunion," II-285.
Socialism, I-76; II-299; IV-192; V-35.
and Anarchy, V-184.
and Liberty, VIII-32.
Societies, Greek Letter, V-109.
Patriotic, IV-135, 138, 143, 360.
Society, III-67.
of Mechanics, II-322.
Socrates, IV-259.
Soil Surveys, VII-260.
Soldier, Our Order The, II-150.
The Volunteer, I-278.
Soldier's Friend, I-264.
Great, II-135.
Homes, VIII-106.
Vote, Collecting, I-90; II-166.
Solomon, King, II-227.
and his Wives, III-163.
Solomon's Temple, VIII-212.
Solon, Statutes of, V-116.
Songs of a People, I-32.
Sons of the American Revolution, III-318.
of Liberty, I-13.
of the Revolution, III-318.
"Soup, Hasty Plate of," III-120.
South, A United, III-283.
America, Commerce of, II-23.
Republics of, VI-136.
Root's Visit to, VII-236.
American Republics, Hostility of, IV-369, 376.
Carolina Exposition, VIII-73.
The New, VIII-108.
Opportunities in the, V-228.
Pole, Admiral Wilkes and the, VII-257.
Protection in the, VII-309.
Southern Governors, Dinner to, II-90.
Society of New York, II-90.
Sovereignty, Feudal, VIII-172.
Power of, VII-12.
of the People, VIII-172.
Spain, Colonial Empire of, IV-151, 224.
Expulsion of the Jews from, I-242.
Spain, Expulsion of Moors from, I-238, 241.
History of, III-51.
and Holland, IV-174.
Treaty of Peace with, IV-217.
War With, III-117; IV-234.
Spanish Government, Porto Rico under, VII-336.
Islands, The, VIII-77.
War, Intervention in, II-121.
Our Unpreparedness, II-168.
Spaulding, Elbridge G., II-73.
Speaker, Power of the, I-313.
Speakers, After Dinner, VI-331.
Speculation, Reckless, VII-249.
Speech, Stealing A, II-309.
Speedways for Automobiles, II-329.
Spellbinders, Dinner of the, II-306.
Spelling, Simplified, III-162.
Spencer, Earl, II-289.
Herbert, III-194.
Sperry, Dinner to Admiral, IV-366.
Spinning Jenny, VII-294.
Spoils System, I-222.
and Victors, V-321.
Sports' Club, English, IV-305.
International, IV-305.
Springfield Board of Trade, II-348.
Sprague, E. C., II-73.
Spurgeon, Rev. Mr., VIII-150.
Spy, Sir Henry Clinton's, IV-137.
Squatter Sovereignty III-294.
Staats-Zeitung, The, II-105.
Stadt Huys, Weathervane of the, IV-173.
Stamp Act, New York's Protest against, I-16.
Standard Oil Company, Bogy of, VII-302.
Standish, Miles, I-131; IV-30, 38; V-303.
Stanley, Henry M., III-196, 203.
Stanton, Edwin M., II-166, 214.
Stark, Gen. John, IV-156.
Starvation Camp, IV-24.
State Builders, III-321; V-94.
Largest Manufacturing, VII-314.
of New York, Response to Toast, IV-4, 8, 16, 20.
Rights, I-31.
Presidents Believers in, II-79.
and Senatorial Representation, VII-81.
Sovereignty, I-18, 27, 31; III-129.
Statehood Bill, VII-81.
Staten Island, VIII-56.
States in the Confederation, I-6.
Rules for making, VII-88.

Statue of Liberty, IV-84, 118.
of Sherman, II-269.
of Commodore Vanderbilt, Unveiling of, V-233.
Statues, Maryland's, VII-73.
Steam and Electricity, V-36, 196.
Tonnage, VII-46.
Steamships, Collins Line of, VII-232.
Stedman, Edmund Clarence, III-167; V-108.
Steel Corporation, United States, VII-307.
Steuben, Baron, I-17, 59, 64; II-106; V-126.
Stevens, Alexander H., III-283.
Thaddeus, II-214.
Stewart, Admiral Charles, I-287, 297.
A. T., III-78.
William M., VII-105.
Stick, Dig, Save, V-291.
Stock Exchange, The New York, VII-247.
Gambling, VII-250.
Stomach, The Yankee, IV-33.
Stone, Melville E., IV-279.
Stories and Chestnuts, V-292; VI-309.
Pound Ridge, VI-208.
Storrs, Emory, III-42; VI-268.
Stranahan, James S. T., III-6.
Strangers, Church of the, V-245.
Stratford-on-Avon, IV-164.
de Redcliffe, Sir, VIII-190.
Strikes, VI-146.
Strong, Rev. Josiah, VII-104.
Stuyvesant, Peter, IV-176.
Subsidies, British. I-40.
Marine, VII-232.
Success, Charm in the Word, IV-377.
False Standards of, V-39.
in Life, False Measure of, V-290.
Secret of, IV-197.
Value of, VIII-267.
What is it?, V-146.
Suffolk Bank System, VII-192.
Suffrage, Deprivation of, VII-9.
Right of, VII-59.
Universal, V-32.
Woman, V-212.
Sugar in Porto Rico, VII-24, 343.
Sullivan, General, III-254.
Sir Arthur, II-128; III-189.
Sulzer, William, I-309.
Sumner, Charles, I-131; II-221, 270.
Sun, New York, II-250.
The Rising, I-12.
Sunday, The American, VI-84.
Sunnyside, IV-165.
Supreme Court Justices, V-89.
United States, I-234; IV-162; V-350.
Surgery, Advance in, VIII-211.
Sutton, James T., VI-209.
"Swapping Lies," II-271.
Switzerland, Forests in, VII-264.
S. Y. L., III-342.
Syndicate, Mr., VI-101.
Syracuse Medical College, V-131.

T

Taft, William H., V-88, 349; VI-302.
and Hughes Meeting, VI-286.
Takahira, Minister, II-110.
Talleyrand, I-49.
and Whist, III-76.
Tallmadge, Benjamin, I-65.
Tammany Hall, II-274; V-82, 84; VI-162; VIII-312.
Taney, Roger B., V-355.
Tariff, VII-293.
Act, First, I-37.
Bill, Increases in, VI-323.
Reductions in, VI-323.
Bankruptcy from Low, III-308.
Commission, Permanent, VII-320.
Dingley, VI-144.
Lawyers and Smuggling, VII-304.
Morrill, III-308; VI-142, 261.
Payne-Aldrich, VIII-242, 245.
and Pocket-book, VI-322.
Porto Rican, VII-15.
Protective, VI-202; VIII-263.
Revision Downward, VII-305.
a Tax," IV-104.
Walls, Foreign, VII-171.
Wilson, VI-27, 143, 190; VII-383.
Tarrytown Irving Club, IV-164.
Tax, An Income, VII-316.
Taxation, Direct, I-38.
State, VI-184.
and Wages, VI-266.
Taxes, Direct, VII-316.
in Porto Rico, VII-338.
and Tenants, VI-167.
Taylor, Bayard, I-164.
Letters of, III-357.
Moses, II-42.
Royal, Comedy by, I-201.
Tecumseh, I-132.
Telegraph, First Message on, II-44.
London, III-211.
A Talking, III-150.
Telephone, Speech over, IV-310.
The, VIII-115, 210.

Teller, Henry M., VII-140.
Temple of Liberty, Figure in Our, III-276.
Temples and Banks, VIII-14.
Ten Broeck, General, I-180.
Terror, The American, VI-198, 373.
Teutonic Union, I-78.
Texas, Municipal Government in, III-131.
Thackeray and the American Oyster, IV-353.
William M., II-257.
Thanksgiving Day, IV-18.
Sermon, III-337.
Theatre, The, I-201.
Theorist, Day of the, IV-104.
Thirty Years' War, I-143.
Thomas, Augustus, VIII-219.
General, I-278.
Thompson, Colonel, III-258.
Lydia, III-190.
Sir William, VIII-115.
"Three Score and Ten," III-107.
Thurman, Gov., IV-104.
Ticket, Ratification of, VI-78.
Ticonderoga, Capture of, IV-155.
Tilden, Samuel J., I-205; II-184; VI-273, 312.
Tilly, Count, I-143.
Timber Supply of United States, VII-263.
Times, New York, IV-124.
London, IV-351.
on War, IV-319.
Tippecanoe and Tyler too, III-364; VI-314.
'Tisbut Box, V-296.
Titles, Foreign, IV-148.
Tobacco in Porto Rico, VII-24, 343.
Toby, M. P., II-273.
Togo, Admiral, I-250.
Toleration, Religious, VI-106.
"Tom Thumb," Locomotive, III-349.
Tomb-stones, No String to Sale of, VI-161.
Tory in the Revolution, IV-97.
Town, A Wide Open, II-275.
Meeting, The New England, III-144.
Townsend, George Alfred, III-196-358.
Townshend, Samuel, I-179.
Trade, Balance of, II-10.
Centers, Great, VIII-14.
and Competition, VIII-4.
Follows the Flag," II-354.
Traders, Phœnician, VIII-3.
Train de Luxe, V-71; VI-364.
Tramps and a Multimillionaire, II-343.
Transcendentalists, New England, III-156.
Trans-Mississippi Exposition, VIII-84.
Transportation, VII-196.
Cheap, II-313.
Cheap Railway, VIII-41.
Club, IV-306, 310; VIII-204, 256.
Rates of, IV-73.
Travis, Wiley, VI-208.
Treason, Nemesis of, III-320.
Treasury, Auditor of, VII-227.
First Secretary of, I-47.
Treaty, Hay-Herran, VI-230.
Jay, II-118.
Tree Planting, VIII-301.
Tribune, New York, I-157; IV-334.
Associates of, I-163.
Fiftieth Anniversary of, III-355.
"Trickle or a Dab," VI-268.
Trilby, III-24.
Triumvirate of Editors, I-270.
Trolley, The, VIII-210.
Tropical Anemia, VII-340.
Truce of God, IV-314.
"Truth Crushed to Earth," II-212.
"Truthful George," IV-311.
Trusts, III-63; VI-148, 181, 197, 212.
Inevitable, VI-211.
Peril of, III-272.
Turenne, Marshal, I-143.
Turkey, Bandits in, III-184.
Tuskegee Institute, V-307.
Twain, Birthday of Mark, III-239.
Tweed Frauds, I-205.
Twentieth Century, Problems of the, V-261.
Twichell, Rev. Joseph H., III-240.
Typographical Union, The, I-321.

U

Uchida, Baron, II-110.
Uhl, Edward, II-105.
Ulysses, Adventures of, III-185.
"Uncle Billy," I-138.
Tom's Cabin," III-158, 295.
"Unconditional Surrender," I-128; III-226.
Union, Cooper, IV-342.
College, I-107.
League Club, IV-89, 102, 114, 126.
Inaugural at, IV-74, 80, 109.
Masons at, IV-357.
Ratification Meeting, IV-98.
Retiring from Presidency of, IV-117.

Union League Regiment, II-356.
and Disunion, III-281.
Necessity of, 1-5.
and Slavery, VII-381.
and States Rights, VII-79.
Unionist Party, Porto Rico, VII-334, 514.
United States, Arable Acres in, I-35.
Army and Navy of, I-24.
Centennial of, I-41.
Expansion of, VII-5.
and Great Britain, IV-321.
Greatest Creator of Wealth, VII-241.
Growth of, I-129.
Internal Commerce of, II-14.
Political Hope of World, I-39.
Political Mission of, I-25.
Production of, VIII-4.
Progress of, for Forty Years, VII-201.
Prosperity of, II-52.
Second Naval Power, VII-235.
Steel Corporation, VII-307.
Wealth of, I-21, 147.
a World Power, II-108; VI-189.
"Unity makes Might," II-95; IV-175.
University Club, St. Louis, IV-264.
Washington, V-347.
Influence of a, V-143.
of Medicine, New York, V-128.
Washington and Lee, III-209.
Universities Citadels of Liberty, V-99.
in United States, V-214.
Utica Masonic Asylum, VIII-20.
Utrecht, Union of, IV-13.

V

Vagrants, Christmas Dinner to, II-316
Vallandigham, Clement, II-184.
Valley Forge, Mess Table at, IV-142.
Van Boerum, Willem Jacobs, I-vii.
Van Buren, Martin, I-205, 216.
Van Corlaer, Anthony, IV-18, 167.
Van Cortlandt, Col. Pierre, I-viii, 180, 187; III-252.
"Van, Good Evening," II-92.
Vanderbilt, Commodore, I-xv; III-17; V-229, 233, 242; VIII-58.
Cornelius, VIII-321.
Gift of the Ship, V-246.
Hall, V-67.
University, V-219.
Wealth of Commodore, III-17.
William H., I-xv; V-125.
Van Wart, Isaac, I-55, 62, 66.
Van Winkle, Rip, IV-168.
Varlet, Judith, IV-176.
Vassar College, V-208.
Vatican, Ceremonial at the, VIII-147.
Venezuelan Message, Cleveland's, III-48; VII-182.
Venice and Gondolas, III-187.
Vermont Sons of American Revolution, IV-153.
Veto Power of the President, V-351.
Vice-presidency, The, VIII-270.
Vice-president, Duties of, II-365.
Vicksburg, Grant at, I-123.
Victoria, Jubilee of Queen, I-40; II-151; VIII-163.
and United States, VIII-167.
Victory or the Abbey, I-252.
Viking in North America, The, I-238.
Virginia, Gift of Northwest Territory, I-28.
University of, V-176.
Voltaire and de Rohan, III-233.
Volunteer Army, III-285.
Von Moltke, General, I-112, 121; VII-377.
Vote, The First, V-123.
Votes of Soldiers, I-90.
of Women, VIII-111.
Vox populi vox Dei, III-19.
Vulture, British Ship, I-53, 58; III-260.

W

Wade, Benjamin, II-83.
Waite, Morrison R., V-355.
Wakeman, Abram, VIII-231.
Waldenses, The, I-192.
Waldorf-Astoria, II-206.
Waldron's Tavern, IV-172.
Wales never Conquered, IV-178.
Wales, Prince of, III-241.
Walker, John Brisbane, II-325.
Gen. William, I-318.
Robert J., VII-295.
Wallenstein, I-143.
Walloons, The, I-192.
Wall Street, King of, V-238.
War of 1812, IV-318; VI-34.
Civil, IV-194; VI-34.
Debts of Nations, IV-318.
French and Indian, IV-153.
is Hell," II-99.
the "Malady of Princes," IV-316.
Mexican, I-276.
and National Honor, IV-319.
Railway, V-240.

War of the Rebellion, I-143.
of the Revolution, IV-194; VI-34.
Ships, Buying, VII-180.
Spanish, II-121; VI-34, 49.
Ward, Artemus, I-90; III-59; V-345; VII-107.
Sam, IV-354.
William L., VI-336.
Warner, Charles Dudley, V-107.
Warren, James D., II-73.
Joseph V., 180.
Warriors, Four Great, VIII-174.
Warwick of American Politics, VII-363.
Washburne, Elihu, II-167.
Washington, Booker T., IV-54; V-307.
Washington, George, and André, I-63.
Anecdotes of, IV-97; VII-373.
and Bonaparte, IV-227.
and Braddock, VIII-137.
and Burr, VIII-159.
Cabinet of, I-230.
Centennial of Death of, I-226.
Inauguration of, I-1.
Conspiracies Against, II-293; II-320; IV-246.
a Dancer, VIII-140.
Despairs of the Confederation, I-7.
Dinners of, VIII-141.
enters New York, III-261.
Farewell Address of, I-233; IV-361.
First President, I-229.
at Fort Duquesne, I-168.
Human Side of, II-300.
and Jay, VIII-333.
and Lincoln, II-132; IV-362.
and Lord North, IV-149.
Majesty of, IV-143.
and Mary Philipse, I-15.
Narrow Escape of, VIII-159.
at Newburgh, VIII-26.
takes Oath of Office, I-17.
at Peekskill, III-255.
Portrait of, II-118; IV-151.
The Real, VIII-135.
Reputation of, V-223.
a Trained Soldier, I-227; IV-362.
Triumphant March to Capitol, I-14.
and Washington Irving, IV-166.
the Wealthiest Man, IV-195; VII-73.
at White Plains, III-254.
Washington, Capital at, VI-122.
No Lobby at, III-169.
University Club, V-347.
Water Problem in Hawaii, VII-352.
Waterloo and Indigestion, III-100.
Watson, Rev. John, II-256; IV-181.
Watterson, Henry, IV-237, 352.
Waverly Novels, III-174.
Wealth, Accumulation of, V-159; VII-282.
Creation of, VIII-223.
of Nations, I-36; IV-378.
Power of, III-98.
Webster, Daniel, I-25, 27; II-136, 296; III-141; IV-248; V-281.
Daniel and Noah, III-117.
and Hayne, II-83; III-16.
and M. Hulseman, I-299.
Weed, Thurlow, I-203; II-277, 282; V-86; VI-317.
Wells, Albert, V-315.
Wellesley College, V-208.
Wesley, John, IV-337.
Bi-centennial of Birth of, III-244.
West and the East, IV-296.
Natural Highway to, V-240.
Westchester, Bald Eagle of, I-303, 309.
County, I-282; VI-206.
Eighteenth Regiment of, II-358.
Westminster Abbey, I-59, 110, 253; III-248; VIII-150.
Westminster, Estate of Duke of, IV-12.
Gazette, VI-359.
West Point, III-253.
Arnold at, I-51.
Founder of, I-49.
Westward the Course of Empire, I-41.
Wheat, Corners in, VIII-5.
Egyptian and Italian, VIII-5.
Market for Our, VI-37.
Whigs, Free Soil, III-299.
Pro-Slavery, III-295.
Whiskey, Grant's Brand of, III-375.
White, Andrew D., III-127. V-108.
Introduction by, VIII.
Fleet, Our, II-53.
Henry, Dinner to, II-374.
House, The, III-375; VIII-231.
Mountain Forest Preserve, VII-204.
Plains, Battle of, III-254.
Whitney, Eli, I-246, 255.
William C., II-143; IV-368; V-15.

Widow and Watering Pot, IV-389.
Wilde, Oscar, III-24, 190.
Wilderness, The Great American, II-22.
Wilkes, Admiral, VIII-257.
Willard, Emma, IV-261; V-204.
Willems, Geertje, I-vii.
William II of Germany, VII-42, 168.
of Orange, IV-13, 176.
Williams, Captain, III-260.
David, I-55, 62, 66.
Williams, Roger, II-135; III-323; IV-69.
Wilmot Proviso, The, II-296.
Winslow, Josiah, IV-62.
Winter, William, I-164; III-358.
Winthrop, John, III-335.
and Sir Harry Vane, IV-22.
Witchcraft at Salem, IV-29.
"Wizard of the North," IV-164.
Wolcott, Edward, V-26, 47.
Wolfe, Gen. James, I-172.
Song of General, I-57.
Woman, Emancipation of, IV-258; V-171.
Equality of, III-343.
Higher Education of, V-268.
The New, IV-260.
in Politics, VIII-110.
and her P operty, V-212.
Response to the Toast, IV-1.
Woman's Law Class, New York University, V-208.
Women, New Education of, V-158.
Noble, IV-3.
in Politics, VI-278.
Vocations of, V-267.
Women's Rights, III-183.
Woodford, Stewart L., IV-16.
Woodruff, Timothy, VI-282.
Woodstock, Celebration at, III-264.
Wool, History of, VII-294.
Wool-carding Machine, First, VIII-179.
Woolsey, Theodore D., V-16, 21.
Work, A Day's, III-352.
Necessity of, V-280.
Working-men in Railway Service, III-349.
Workshop, Efficiency of the American, VIII-65.
United States a, VII-359.
World Building, Corner Stone of, VIII-27.
Hottest Place in the, III-32.
New York, II, 252, 254.
Powers, II-108.
World's Fair, Chicago, I-68; IV-287.
Commission, II-172.
Manhattan Day at, VIII-119.
Fairs, IV-291.
Wright, Silas, I-205.
Wu Ting Fang, III-83.
Wyckliffe, John, V-100.

X

Xantippe, Wife of Socrates, IV-258.

Y

Yale Alumni Association, New York, V-41, 49, 54, 64.
Washington, V-87.
Meeting, V-18.
to President Porter, V-13.
An Athlete of, IV-132.
Athletic Club, V-45.
Dinner, V-59.
Athletics at, II-304.
Blue, V-54.
A Centenarian of, V-106.
College, I-303.
Cult, The, V-46.
Class of '53 at, IV-127.
Class of '56 at, I-xi; III-87; V-48, 56, 89.
Elihu, V-176.
Funds of, V-17, 42.
Halls of, V-21.
and Harvard, First Rowing Race, IV-303.
Historic Fence at, V-43, 47.
Kent Club, V-69.
Law School, V-27.
Political Club, V-76.
Oldest Graduate of, II-182.
Training at, V-66.
University, Founding of, III-336.
Victories in Athletics of, V-23.
Yankee Characteristics, IV-35.
and Dutchman Related, IV-10.
Girl at Woolwich, IV-135.
in New York, The, IV-6.
School Teachers in Philippines, II-61.
The Typical Stage, I-201.
Yates, Abraham, I-179.
Robert, I-179.
Yorktown, I-46, 101.
Centennial of Surrender at, I-223.
Young, Brigham, III-31.
John Russell, I-164.
Men's Bible Class, II-187.
Youth, Fountain of, V-228.
Yuma, Hottest Place in World, III-32.

Z

Zenda, Prisoner of, II-266.
Zenger, John Peter, I-16; IV-177, 275; V-319; VIII-27.
Zone, Panama Canal, VII-160.